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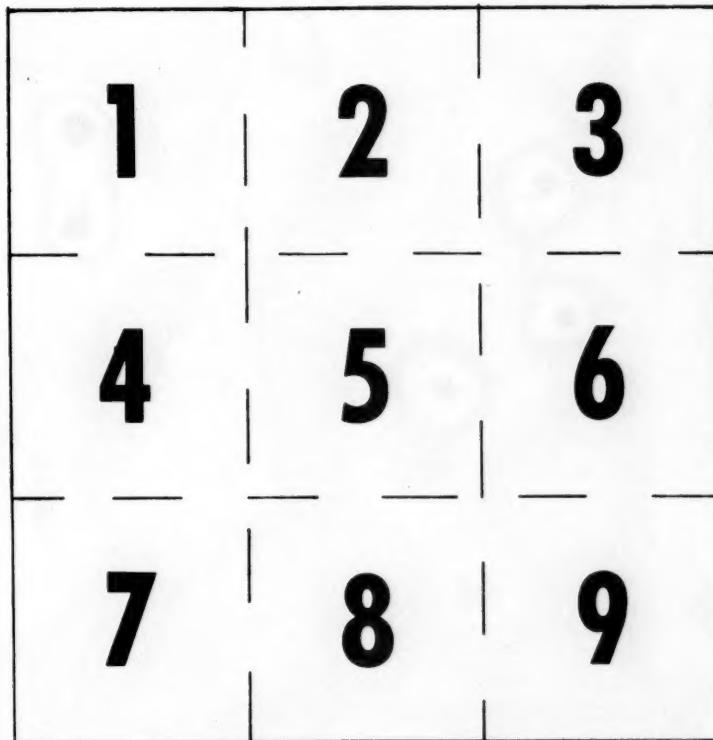
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are filmed clockwise beginning in the
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in the upper left hand corner, left to
frames as required. The following



37°

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G E R M A N

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P R O T E C T O R A T E

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MAP TO ILLUSTRATE
M^E Donald Mackenzie's
ANTI-SLAVERY MISSION
TO
ZANZIBAR, PEMBA.

And the Mainland of the British
Protectorate of East Africa.

English Miles.

Commissioners route. —
Projected railway. —

Longitude East of Greenwich. 40°

41°



The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

FROM JUNE TO AUGUST, 1895.

[The Editor, whilst grateful to all correspondents who may be kind enough to furnish him with information, desires to state that he is not responsible for the views stated by them, nor for quotations which may be inserted from other journals. The object of the REPORTER is to spread information, and articles are necessarily quoted which may contain views or statements for which their authors can alone be held responsible.]

SPECIAL MISSION TO ZANZIBAR & PEMBA,

BY

DONALD MACKENZIE,

FOR THE

British & Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

THE fact that something like a quarter of a million of Slaves are still kept in bondage in the British Protectorate of Zanzibar and Pemba alone, has come as a most unwelcome surprise upon that large portion of the British public that has for so many years rested upon the well-known axiom that—

Slaves cannot breathe in England ; if their lungs
Receive our air, that moment they are Free ;
They touch our country and their shackles fall.

Although Zanzibar and Pemba are not England, they form part of the British Possessions, and the public naturally expect that the Anti-Slavery policy which the poet so eloquently and so justly described as forming part of the English constitution, should equally apply to territories placed under British protection.

It is quite true that a puppet Sultan has been placed upon the throne at Zanzibar, in whose name the Mohammedan Law with regard to Slavery is allowed to run. This, however, is but a mere evasion, as the two islands in question are administered entirely by British subjects, and the revenue which is raised for carrying out the administration is the

product of Slave labour. This state of things has gone on since the year 1890, when by an arrangement with France and Germany, and the cession of the important possession of Heligoland to the latter power, Great Britain entered upon the protectorate of Zanzibar, including the island of that name and the adjacent smaller island of Pemba.

Readers of *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* ought to be well aware of the constant action taken by the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY to procure the abolition of the status of Slavery in this large British Protectorate—and it will not be forgotten that during the past year very strong remonstrances were forwarded to the Government by many of the largest and most influential religious bodies of this country.

More than twelve months ago the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY decided to send out a SPECIAL COMMISSIONER to investigate the condition of the Slaves now working in the clove and other plantations of the Protectorate, virtually, if not literally, under the British Flag. The SOCIETY selected for the mission the well-known founder of the settlement at Cape Juby, on the West Coast of Africa, a gentleman whose large experience of Arabs, and other natives, eminently fitted him for the duties he was asked to undertake. Mr. DONALD MACKENZIE returned from his mission a few months ago, and the evidently impartial and dispassionate report which he has drawn up has now been laid before the Government and the individual members of the new House of Commons, as well as the principal organs of the British press. This report we now present to our readers in the following pages, feeling sure that they will be able, with the assistance of the excellent map specially prepared to accompany the report, to make themselves completely masters of the anomalous position which this country now holds in regard to Slavery.

We would also call attention to the extraordinary number of press comments on the Report throughout the whole country, only a few of which space will allow us to reproduce. It is scarcely necessary to note that almost every one of the notices was in favour of abolition in the Protectorate.

The exhaustive address to **LORD SALISBURY** by the **BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY**, which will be found in this number of the *Reporter*, reviews the action, or rather inaction, of the successive Governments since the islands were taken under British Protection, and should be carefully studied.

A Report on Slavery and the Slave-Trade in Zanzibar, Pemba, and the Mainland of the British Protectorates of East Africa.

To the Committee of the—

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

GENTLEMEN,

Having been appointed by you as Special Commissioner to enquire into the state of Slavery and the Slave-trade in the British Protectorate of Zanzibar, including the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, I now have the pleasure to hand you my report thereon.

Leaving England on the 1st of February last, I arrived at Zanzibar on March 2nd, having spent a few days in Aden on the way, where I engaged a Somali servant, acquainted with Arabic and Swahili, and formerly in the service of Captain LUGARD, with whom he proceeded to Uganda.

COMMISSIONER VISITS GERMAN TERRITORY ON MAINLAND.

Finding that the monthly steamer from Zanzibar was just sailing for the German territory on the mainland, I embraced the opportunity of visiting that portion of East Africa, returning to Zanzibar on the 7th March. A report of this visit will be found enclosed.

RETURNS TO ZANZIBAR 7TH MARCH.

A few days after my return to Zanzibar I called for the first time on Mr. HARDINGE, Her Majesty's Agent and Consul General, to whom I spoke freely on the Slave question, and he commented on the same subject with equal frankness. I was very favourably impressed with this gentleman.

SPECIAL ARRANGEMENTS MADE FOR VISIT TO PEMBA IN SULTAN'S STEAMER.

In the course of our conversation I explained that I purposed visiting Pemba Island, and that I intended hiring a dhow for that purpose. Mr. HARDINGE, on hearing of my intention, at once said that I must not

think of going in a dhow ; that he would arrange for one of the SULTAN's steamers to take me to Pemba whenever I was ready to go. Not only did Mr. HARDINGE promise that the SULTAN's steamer should take me to Pemba, but that another of His Highness's steamers should be sent some days afterwards to convey me back to Zanzibar. This vessel would bring Vice-Consul O'SULLIVAN, who was on his way from the Cape. I therefore decided to go on the 13th if the steamer would be ready.

After my pleasant interview with Mr. HARDINGE I lunched with Sir LLOYD MATHEWS, Prime Minister of the Zanzibar Government, who was most kind in arranging everything to facilitate my movements and plans. He offered me one of his own servants to accompany me and to attend to all my wants. He was a black boy educated at Frere town, and spoke English and Swahili perfectly. I accepted his services with pleasure.

On the morning of my departure I called on Mr. HARDINGE, who handed me two letters of introduction to the principal Indian merchants of Pemba. In the afternoon I waited upon Sir LLOYD MATHEWS, who handed me three letters of introduction from the SULTAN to his Walis or Governors in Pemba. LUIS, my black servant, was ordered by Sir LLOYD to go on board at once. I was informed by Sir LLOYD that the First Minister of Public Works (Mr. BOMANJEE) would accompany me on my voyage, he being charged to see and report upon the progress that was being made in building two Custom Houses in Pemba as well as the repairs to the Vice-Consul's residence at Chaki Chaki.

After receiving about ten letters of introduction from Mr. CHARLESWORTH, of CHARLESWORTH, PILLING & Co., to his Indian friends at Pemba, I went on board the steamer *Barawa* at four in the afternoon. The captain, an Indian, received me very kindly and placed the chart-room at my disposal, which was the coolest part of the ship. The first Minister of Public Works came on board soon after, and then we steamed out of the harbour and sailed for Pemba. The captain could not make out Chaki Chaki ; he said every place seemed alike.

ARRIVAL IN PEMBA.

At about seven o'clock we were able to come to anchor in Chaki Chaki creek ; the tide was flowing out, and we were about seven miles away from the beach, no time was therefore to be lost. We lowered our boats at once and proceeded up the creek. The water got so shallow at last that we were obliged to wade through it, and Mr. BOMANJEE and I had to walk barefoot about two miles before arriving at the shore. On the top of high ground we observed a shed, and here the Governor, Kadi, and officers of State, with nearly half the town, were waiting to receive us. We scrambled up the steep banks until we came to the

shed which was used for storing dried shark and salt; the smell was overpowering. The first Minister of Works and I arrived at the place of reception in a most undignified manner, barefooted, wet, and muddy, and in this condition we were received by the Wali. A female Slave was soon on the spot with water and washed the mud from our feet, drying mine with one of the Arab's turbans, the place not possessing a towel. After putting my shoes and socks on I felt a much more important personage.

RECEPTION BY THE WALI OR GOVERNOR OF THE ISLAND.

We all proceeded to the Wali's house, which was rather a comfortable building. I then handed to him the SULTAN's letter, which he received with all due respect, and offered me every assistance and attention during my stay. He now gave us refreshments, consisting of sherbet and sweetmeats, after which formality he led us in a procession to the future British Vice-Consulate, where I took up my abode and made it my headquarters during my stay in Pemba. The house was very nicely arranged on two floors, a fine view of the surrounding country being obtained from the top rooms. Articles of furniture were sent in by the Wali and the head of the Customs, which made me quite comfortable; the house had to be cleaned out as a matter of course.

In less than an hour the Wali and his chief officers came to return my visit, but only remained a few minutes, as the house was being cleaned all the time, to make it a little more habitable. Soon afterwards I took a walk through the town, and found the streets very dirty, rough, and full of the bad smell of dried shark, which seemed to follow me everywhere. The greatest part of the trade is in the hands of the British Indians.

COMMISSIONER FINDS HIMSELF THE ONLY EUROPEAN IN PEMBA.

Mr. BOMANJEE left for the steamer in the afternoon, on his way to Weti, in the north of Pemba, and thence to Zanzibar. Before leaving, he told MUSA, the head of the Customs, that he was under my orders, and that he was to do everything I wished. Thus I was left the only European in Pemba, and was, on that account, an object of curiosity to the natives, my knowledge of Arabic being a great matter of satisfaction to the Arabs.

VISITS *Shambas* OR PLANTATIONS.

Next day, I took a walk through some of the *shambas*, a name given to plantations or estates; some of the Arabs were not pleased, but they did not forcibly oppose my progress. I saw the Slaves working everywhere, attending to the rice fields. Some were clearing the ground from

surplus vegetation, which they burnt, thus making preparations for the great rains, which they expected to come very soon ; others were clearing the ground around the clove trees, which were all out in beautiful buds, promising an abundant crop when their season arrived. These are the only trees which appear to be planted with regularity ; they are all planted in straight lines, at a certain distance from each other, and, on this account, clove plantations can be distinguished at a long distance. No doubt greater care is bestowed on these trees than on any others on account of the value of the cloves. I was told that in SAID BURGHASH's time (1870-1888) cloves were worth 8 Rupees per frasila of 35 lbs., but now they were reduced to 3 Rupees.

WELCOME FROM BRITISH INDIANS.

In the afternoon I returned to my house, and soon after a deputation of about sixty of the principal British Indian merchants called to welcome me to Pemba, praying that God might grant me health ; they also expressed their thankfulness that the QUEEN OF ENGLAND had favoured them by appointing a Vice-Consul to reside amongst them. They complained that the Arabs treated them harshly, but now they would receive justice and protection.

I replied that the Vice-Consul would soon be with them, and whatever wrongs they suffered would no doubt be redressed, and I added that all kinds of people, in all parts of the world, were happy and prosperous under the beneficent rule of England, and that they would soon share the same blessings, which I trusted would lead to their material prosperity.

After the usual compliments, they took their departure. This deputation was remarkable as being the first which had waited on an Englishman in this part of the world ; even MUSA was surprised.

VISIT TO WALI'S *Shamba*.

The next day the Wali sent his brother to take me to his *shamba*, which I found to be situated some distance away, and the paths difficult. After walking and climbing for some time, we arrived at a beautiful *shamba*, situated on high ground. I was received by the Wali, his chief officers and followers, with every distinction and consideration. I was conducted into a large reception room ; soon after I was seated, an Arab came and made a complaint of Slave-dealing against an Indian to the Wali, who refused to hear him ; then he threw himself at my feet, seeking justice ; but I told him that I was neither a consul nor a judge, and, therefore, could not investigate the charges he had made, as I might be hearing cases and complaints all day long, if I had come for that purpose. For the moment I could not help wishing that I possessed

consular powers, to enable me to enter into the numerous cases which were ready to be brought before me.

SLAVES AT WORK.

We were shown by the Wali over his *shamba*—a most extensive estate. We observed a large number of Slaves at work in the rice fields, and amongst the clove and cocoanut trees. The Wali is said to own 500 Slaves. He has the reputation of treating his Slaves fairly well. A Slave boy illustrated for our benefit how cocoanuts are taken down from the trees. He fastened his feet together with palm leaves, pressing his feet on each side of the tree: he reached the top very shortly and brought down a goodly number of nuts, which the Wali sent with us home.

On my return to town I found that the Sultan's dhow had arrived from Zanzibar in a leaking condition and quite unfit to put to sea for some days. I asked MUSA if he had another dhow belonging to the Sultan which I could use. He said there was one which had lately been repaired. I requested him to see that she was ready in the morning, as I wished to proceed to Weti. He assured me that the matter would receive immediate attention.

FOUND SLAVES IN PRISON FOR NOMINAL OFFENCES.

In Zanzibar a good many people had been telling me how happy and contented the Slaves were in the hands of the Arabs; in fact, they would not desire their freedom. At Chaki Chaki I walked into a tumble-down old prison. Here I found a number of prisoners, male and female, heavily chained and fettered. I thought surely these men and women must be dreadful criminals, or murderers, or they must have committed similar crimes and are now awaiting their doom. I inquired of them all why they were there. The only real criminal was one who had stolen a little rice from his master. All the others I found were wearing those ponderous chains and fetters because they had attempted to run away from their cruel masters and gain their freedom—a very eloquent commentary on the happiness of the Slaves!

VISIT TO WETI AND KISHI KASHI.

On the morning of the next day, MUSA, I, and all my people started for Weti in a dhow belonging to the Sultan, which, however, broke down almost immediately, and I had to borrow one from a friendly Arab. On landing we found an Arab the owner of a large *shamba*. He very kindly gave us the use of his fine sailing boat to enable us to continue our voyage and visit a *shamba* which belonged to a Frenchman, M. COTTONI, who died some few years ago, and which was now in the market. On landing the Arab in charge conducted us to COTTONI's house, which is well situated

on high ground, surrounded by cocoanut and clove trees, the dark green mango tree dotting the landscape here and there. We partook of some food on the verandah of the house. I asked how many Slaves had been owned by the late M. COTTONI. The Arab said that on his death the Slaves numbered 150, now they only numbered 100, the rest having since died. The *shamba* contained 40,000 cocoanut trees and 6,000 clove trees. The price asked for the freehold is 30,000 rupees. The situation of the estate is, perhaps, the finest in Pemba, facing the sea and small islands which skirt the main island.

We started again on our voyage and passed a small island called Funzi, used as a dépôt by HER MAJESTY's gunboats when they happen to be in these waters looking after slave dhows. Towards night we came to anchor in Weti Harbour. The town we found to be situated about two miles distant from the landing place; we had to make our way as best we could through the thick clove plantations, and it was not to be wondered at that MUSA lost his way. We were fortunate in finding a friendly black, who put us in the right path once more, and we arrived without further mishap at the town of Weti. Here we took up our quarters for the night at the house of AHMED (Master of the Customs), the office being turned into my bed and dining-room. Immediately on our arrival the WALI and his officers came to welcome me, and a great part of the inhabitants with him. I handed the WALI the SULTAN's letter, which he read with profound respect, and then offered me every assistance during my stay in Weti, which he trusted might be a lengthy one. The principal Indian merchants came also to welcome me to the town, which is of considerable size, and contains, probably, some 3,000 inhabitants.

After an early breakfast we all started for Kishi Kashi, a port further northward. AHMED and MUSA went with us. Having embarked on board our craft we sailed away with a fair wind, crossing over to the island of Fundo, a place famous for Slave dhows. On landing, we met some Arabs, who took us over a plantation where they cultivated cotton, which appeared to be of very good quality. The Arabs told us that this island was particularly healthy, and that the Arabs of Pemba made it a health resort. On the seashore we found an enormous Baobab tree, quite 36 feet in circumference; it had an Arabic inscription on one side, which was dated as written over a thousand years ago; it looked fairly old, but I doubt its age as stated in the inscription. We were taken to a well celebrated for its good water, and we found it cool and refreshing.

We set sail again for Kishi Kashi, and getting a fair wind we soon arrived there. After climbing up a steep bank we came to a raised covered shed, where preparation had been made to receive us. Soon after

we entered the reception room the Sheikh, MOHAMMED BEN JEMA BEN ALI—a stout, fine looking Arab—came and gave us a cordial welcome to his town, which, however, only consisted of his own house and those of his slaves and dependents.

RECEPTION OF SHEIKH.

I handed this Sheikh the SULTAN'S letter, which he read with more indifference than the other Walis, as he seemed to feel his own importance and power; he pressed us to remain with him all night, but this we declined, as we wished to return to Weti. The Sheikh conducted us into a large drawing-room in his house, which faced the sea. Here he commenced to speak on the Slave question at once. He complained that the English people prevented Slaves coming to Pemba, but they did not stop their escape to German territory. He asked whether we had slaves in England to work our *shambas* or estates. I informed him that all labour was free in England; that everyone could serve whatever master he pleased, and the master could hire anyone he wished; that we found this to be the cheapest and the best way; that it was contrary to our law to hold any human creature in bondage, and that we were anxious that other nations should adopt the same principle.

SHEIKH'S OPINION OF SLAVERY.

MOHAMMED could not see it; he was firmly of opinion that slaves were indispensable for the *shambas*; he asked me if Pemba was the only place where slavery existed; I replied that, unfortunately, it flourished in many Mohammedan countries, but we hoped to see it disappear.

MOHAMMED said that he was always friendly with the English; he had entertained several British naval officers who had been in those waters, and he pointed with pride to a gold compass suspended to his watch chain, a gift from some naval officer. He further remarked that he was under British protection, and was a great friend of Sir JOHN KIRK and Sir EUAN SMITH. He acknowledged having about 500 slaves in his plantations, but I suspect he owns 1,000 at least.

After partaking of some refreshment, we walked over a portion of his *shamba*, and saw gangs of Slaves cleaning the ground round the clove and cocoanut trees, while others attended to the rice fields in the valleys below. We observed Slave huts dotted all over the place. On our return we rested for a little while, and then bade MOHAMMED good-bye. In front of his house we saw two lamps in a line, which were placed there to guide dhows into his harbour.

RETURN TO WETI.

We set sail again for Weti; but, after some time, the wind having dropped, we had to row all the way, reaching Weti late at night. We

had to walk once more in darkness through the thick clove plantations in order to get to the town. During our absence the Wali had cleaned a house for us in the main street or road, and in this we took up our quarters for the night. The ants tormented us to such an extent that we were obliged to take our food in the middle of the road ; the Wali himself being so troubled by them that he rushed home.

BEAUTIFUL VALLEYS IN THE INTERIOR.

Messengers arriving from an Arab, who wished me to visit his *shamba* on the next day, I accepted the invitation, and at about six next morning the Slaves and donkeys came to take us to the place. After an early breakfast, and after I had returned the Wali's visit, we at once started to see our unknown friend. On our way to the Arab's estate, we passed through lovely plantations of cloves, and the whole country appeared to be well cultivated. We descended a beautiful valley, in which large numbers of Slaves were working in the fields, the women running away when they saw the white man coming ; we observed them, in the distance, peeping behind trees ; probably they had not seen a white man before.

After about two hours riding across valleys rich with luxuriant vegetation (amongst which we saw the wild monkeys going through their antics), we ascended on to higher ground reaching a level plain. Here, in the midst of magnificent plantations of trees, we found the Arab's dwellings, which consisted principally of stone houses fairly well built. The Arab was waiting for us on a raised and covered platform surrounded by a host of his friends. He gave us a warm welcome to his estate, and being provided with European chairs, we entered into conversation. He informed us that his name was MOHAMMED BEN JEMA BEN SAID, and cousin to my friend of Kishi Kashi. He is a venerable old man, and informed me that neither he nor his cousin had any family although they possessed numerous wives, but they had nephews and nieces ; he asked

SHEIKH INTERESTED IN EUROPEAN POLITICS.

for particulars of my family, and then went on to enquire as to the state of all the nations of the world—rather a wide subject ; he particularly asked if PRINCE BISMARCK was still alive, in power, and friendly with his SULTAN. I replied that he was now old and no longer held office. Then he asked which was the more powerful, France or Germany, and whether France would conquer Madagascar. I told him that these were questions I could not decide, although, with regard to Madagascar, I had every reason to believe that France would conquer that country.

MOHAMMED made many enquiries about the QUEEN and Royal Family ; he had decided in his own mind that England was the most powerful and the best of all nations. He then asked me a variety of other questions on

almost every subject, the whole conversation lasting over two hours, during which time the Arabs, to my astonishment, remained listening.

THE SLAVE QUESTION.

When we touched on the Slave question, MOHAMMED was not so willing to give information; he is the owner of eleven *shambas*, seven in Pemba and four in Zanzibar; he has 2,000 Slaves in Pemba and 800 in Zanzibar. I enquired of him what he did with his old Slaves; he replied that he gave them their freedom and let them live on a portion of his *shambas*, where they could cultivate enough to keep them until they died. I asked if there was much mortality amongst the Slaves, and if people lived to great ages. He answered that the Slaves were generally healthy and the mortality not large, unless an epidemic came amongst them; some of the inhabitants, he said, lived to a great age, and seventy and more years were reached by a good many.

Early in the afternoon we took leave of MOHAMMED and departed for the town of Weti. We passed over the same path by which we had come, and when we reached our house we were fairly worn out by the heat. I asked some of the Zanzibar Slaves who had come from Chaki Chaki by night if the road were good—they all said it was a terrible road, they had heard and seen evil spirits by the way which had kept them in continual fear.

COMMISSIONER RETURNS TO CHAKI CHAKI BY LAND, MUCH AGAINST WISH OF ARABS.

In the evening I informed the Wali that I intended leaving for Chaki Chaki next day, and that I required donkeys for Musa, myself and party, and that my luggage would go by boat to that port. The Wali said that they would see what could be done to meet my wishes. In the meantime they were trying to persuade me to go by sea, and not to venture by land. I assured them that it was my firm intention to proceed by land. It was getting towards ten o'clock at night, when I thought it was about time I should have a final answer about donkeys, so I sent for the Wali and told him that "Inshallah" would no longer do, that I must have an answer, that I would leave the following morning, and if the donkeys were not found I would walk it. On hearing this he sent soldiers after the Arabs, who, having heard of what I wanted, had taken refuge in the Mosque. The fact of the matter was that no one wished me to go through the country. At last the Wali became angry, and demanded that the Arabs should come out of the Mosque and bring their donkeys; this was at last done with a bad grace. It took the Wali till midnight to arrange this matter for us. I cannot

speak too highly of this Wali, he was kind and most attentive, and really the only Arab I found with any enterprise or public spirit; he has dug a well in front of his own house about 60 feet deep, which supplies the people with pure water, raised by a skin bucket. When I returned to Zanzibar, I brought the matter before Sir LLOYD MATHEWS and Mr. STRICKLAND, and a promise was made that the Wali should have a pump.

A RIDE THROUGH PEMBA.

We were up at five next morning, and the good Wali came at once with four donkeys, and, having despatched our boat, and bidden farewell to the Wali and all our friends, we set out from the town at six, being glad to leave the plague of ants behind us.

It was fairly pleasant riding in the early morning, but when the sun gained its power the paths through the clove plantations became steaming hot, with hardly a breath of air. The country was really lovely, and far more beautiful than anything we had seen in Zanzibar Island. The high hills and plains were covered with trees, and in some places rose to a height of about 200 feet. In the distance we could hear the weird sound of the monkeys calling out to each other among the trees. The valleys below looked charming, the vegetation was most dense.

SLAVES AT WORK EVERYWHERE.

Everywhere we found numerous bands of slaves at work in the *shambas*. We passed a few streams on the way, one of which might be called a river, its water-falls making a loud sound in the wood. Towards noon it commenced to thunder very heavily, and soon after, rain came down in torrents, quickly wetting us through as we were unable to find any shelter. The paths became streams of water, and so slippery with mud that our poor animals could only walk with difficulty; I, being the largest of the party, had to dismount and walk a long way through water and mud. At last we saw in the distance the *shamba* of the Wali of Chaki Chaki, but on our arrival we found that he was in town. The rain had now cleared away, and the sun came down with ten-fold force, making our damp clothes steam. On several occasions we slipped down the muddy paths by the side of the hills, covering ourselves with red clay. In this condition we arrived at our head-quarters at Chaki Chaki, where I found a dry shirt and socks; and, going to bed, I was not visible to the Wali or anyone else for the rest of the evening. At night our boat arrived, and then I was able to procure dry clothes and feel more comfortable. We were all done up with our ride, and, as we were expecting the steamer with the Vice-Consul, we did not wander

far away from the town, contenting ourselves with taking walks through the *shambas*, speaking to some of the Slaves and asking about their country. Some of the Slaves complained that they had been brought from Zanzibar under false pretences, they having been told that they were required for their masters' plantations, but on their arrival they had been sold.

NO CHECK ON PUNISHMENT OF SLAVES.

We enquired of several people if Slaves were cruelly treated by their masters. The reply was that they were sometimes, and that often they were beaten to death, in order to strike terror into the minds of the others. The punishment of Slaves was left to the masters' own discretion, with no check of any sort on the part of the authorities, and, as they are all Slave-holders, from the authorities downwards, they would play into each others' hands.

It was stated that some of the masters were good to their Slaves ; but, on the other hand, others were very bad and cruel. An Arab had lately died in Pemba, and he had stipulated in his will that eleven of his Slaves should be set free, and given a portion of his *shamba* to cultivate for their own use and profit. This stipulation was most faithfully carried out by his widow ; and I was assured that the free Slaves were now happy and prosperous, a fact which shows that the blacks are not so lazy as some people try to make out.

I shall now give a brief description of the Island of Pemba and its inhabitants, which I think may prove of interest, as it has hardly been visited by Europeans ; indeed, I think that I am the only Englishman who has hitherto remained so long in the island, and who has been able to travel in the interior.

DESCRIPTION OF PEMBA ISLAND.

Pemba, which lies 22 miles north-eastward of Zanzibar island, like Zanzibar, is a coral island, and its formation is particularly curious. It is about forty miles long, and on the eastern side, is fairly compact ; but on the western side, there is an outlying fringe of strange looking islands—about 100 in number—running parallel with a sheet of water of perhaps a width of nine miles, which separates them from the main island. All of them are covered with vegetation down to the water's edge. The main island is cut up into numberless creeks and mangrove swamps, in which any number of dhows could hide, and land or embark Slaves without being observed by any of Her Majesty's cutters. It is an island peculiarly suited for carrying on Slave-trading, or any kind of contraband trade, which could be done with impunity.

FERTILITY OF THE SOIL.

The main island is, perhaps, only thirteen miles wide in some places ; it is the most fertile island I have ever seen, and its well-cultivated clove plantations are the sources from which the Zanzibar Government derives its principal income—cloves, clove-stems and copra forming the chief articles of export from Pemba.

POPULATION.

The population is divided into four classes—the Arabs, the Wa-Pemba (or aborigines), the Slaves, who are drawn from various parts of the interior of Africa, and the Indians, who are the merchants and financiers of the whole place. The late SAID BURGHASH estimated the population of Pemba at 100,000, but, in the absence of data, it is impossible to arrive at an accurate estimate of the number of the inhabitants of either Pemba or Zanzibar. If we adopt SAID BURGHASH's estimate, the population of Pemba would stand, approximately, thus :—

Arabs ..	..	..	..	..	..	5,000
Wa-Pemba ..	..	..	..	..	..	7,000
Indians ..	..	..	..	..	..	1,000
Slaves ..	..	..	..	..	..	87,000
						<hr/>
						100,000

The Arabs occupy the western side of Pemba, and the Wa-Pemba, or aborigines, the eastern. These are free people, but they buy and sell Slaves like the Arabs, and are equally cruel. The Arab portion of the island is very well cultivated, and the clove plantations give it a pretty appearance from the sea.

CLIMATE.

The climate has hitherto had a bad name, so much so that none of the European merchants of Zanzibar have ever ventured to visit this island, though only some 40 or 50 miles distant from the town. It seems to me that the climate is quite as good as that of Zanzibar, if not better. The people suffer from two principal diseases only—elephantiasis and ophthalmia ; sometimes epidemics visit the island and sweep off some thousands of the inhabitants, but all Africa is subject to these visitations. As far as I have seen, it is free from fresh-water swamps, which abound in Zanzibar, from which it would seem that Zanzibar would be more feverish than Pemba. The Arabs, I think, give a bad name to the climate of Pemba so as to discourage Europeans from going there. It is currently reported that a large mortality takes place among the Slaves. On these representations the Arabs were, and still

are, permitted to take away Slaves from Zanzibar without any difficulty. I think a considerable export trade in Slaves takes place from this island to the Arabian coast, and this will account for the continual drain on Zanzibar for the supply of Slaves.

A good many of the Pemba Slaves come direct from the mainland in Arab or Somali dhows, but as to what number may be imported it would be impossible to say with any degree of certainty. The presence of an English Vice-Consul in Pemba will, I think, check to some extent the Slave-trade and the cruelty inflicted on the Slaves by their masters—that is to say, if the Vice-Consul will take an interest in his work.

CONDITION OF WOMEN SLAVES.

The condition of the women in Pemba is something very terrible. They mix mortar, carry loads of sand, stone, or any other material, and if hired out, they have to pay all they receive to their Arab masters, who live luxuriously on the hard earnings of these poor women.

The rate of pay is as follows :—

Women for mixing lime	7 annas per day
Headmen, who are always free	8 „ „
Masons	12 „ „
Carpenters	1 rupee „

The hours of work are from 7 a.m. to 4 p.m.

COMMISSIONER'S VISIT PREVIOUSLY ANNOUNCED TO ARABS.

A few days before my departure for Zanzibar I found that the SULTAN had sent two Arab officials before me to Pemba, evidently to prepare the way for my arrival—in other words—to warn the Arabs that I was about to make some inquiries into Slavery, His Highness being doubtless much interested in the question, being, it is said, the largest owner of Slaves in these parts.

ARRIVAL OF FIRST ENGLISH VICE-CONSUL IN PEMBA.

On Saturday morning the Sultan's steamer *Kilwa* arrived at Chaki Chaki. This vessel is famous as having been found carrying Slaves by one of Her Majesty's ships. Vice-Consul O'SULLIVAN, Mrs. O'SULLIVAN, and Mr. STRICKLAND, the head of the Zanzibar Customs, were on board, and a small cutter came in tow, belonging to the *Racoon*, for the purpose of cruising about in search of Slave dhows, which had not been done for a long time. On account of its being low tide, it was four in the afternoon before they could land.

VICE-CONSUL'S RECEPTION BY MR. DONALD MACKENZIE.

I was the only Englishman on the whole island to receive him. The WALI, his officers, and a considerable number of the people came to

welcome the Vice-Consul and his wife, the WALI's welcome being most cordial. I photographed the group near the Custom House, and it is interesting as being a photograph of the landing of the first English Vice-Consul who had ever come to reside in that island. They afterwards proceeded to their house, and Mr. STRICKLAND was up to a late hour engaged in getting all their furniture and belongings taken up to the house, working particularly hard and being most attentive and kind to the Vice-Consul and his wife. They were made fairly comfortable before we left, Mr. STRICKLAND arranging for all their goods to be taken up next morning, leaving a man specially to attend to the matter.

We left at one in the morning for the *Kilwa*, which was anchored about seven miles away. The night was clear as day, and the lightning and fire-flies lit up the mangroves as we passed. We reached the steamer at four in the morning, very weary and sleepy. Early the next morning we sailed for Weti, where we landed at nine o'clock and proceeded to the town. Here we met our old friend the WALI, to whose house we went, and Mr. STRICKLAND examined his well, promising him that he would ask Sir LLOYD MATHEWS for a pump for him—a promise with which the WALI was delighted.

After Mr. STRICKLAND had finished his business, we made our way to the steamer and started again for Chaki Chaki. Mr. STRICKLAND stated that it was the intention of the Zanzibar Government to establish Custom Houses at Kishi Kashi and Yam ba gomi, which would make a total of four Custom Houses in Pemba.

COMMISSIONER RETURNS TO ZANZIBAR.

We sailed for Zanzibar at twelve p.m., where we arrived at nine next morning. I found my Somali quite well, and I went on shore with Mr. STRICKLAND, of whose kindness and attention I cannot speak too highly. The heat in Zanzibar was intense, making it most difficult to get about in the day-time. It is said that this year is exceptionally hot.

Soon after my return from Pemba I called on Mr. HARDINGE and Sir LLOYD MATHEWS, who were both interested in my trip to that island. I afterwards called upon Archdeacon JONES-BATEMAN, and had a long and interesting talk on the Slave question, having interviews with others on the same subject and collecting much information from various sources.

On the night of the 28th March Ramadan came to an end amidst the firing of guns, which announced to the Mohammedan world that the Faithful could, as reasonable beings, partake of food in the day-time. The Sultan's ships were all illuminated, and also his palace, to celebrate the event. In the day-time the ships were decorated with flags, even the dhows flying their colours in honour of the occasion.

VISIT TO THE SULTAN.

On the following morning Mr. HARDINGE, Sir LLOYD MATHEWS, Judge CRACKNALL, and the officers of the British men-of-war in the harbour, together with the British residents, I amongst their number, formed a procession and marched to the palace to pay our respects to the Sultan.

While walking along with Mr. HARDINGE, I told him that it was my intention to start for Aden on the 12th of April by the British India Steam-ship Company's steamer, and should, therefore, see Mombasa. He at once promised that he would cause the vessel to stop at Lamu a sufficient time for me to see the place, and said that he would telegraph to Captain ROGERS to meet me with a steam launch; he also promised to favour me with letters of introduction to Mr. PIGGOTT of Mombasa, and to Captain ROGERS and Mr. MACLENNAN of Lamu, for which arrangement I felt very grateful.

COMMISSIONER ATTACKED BY FEVER.

Sir LLOYD MATHEWS afterwards promised that I should drive across the Island of Zanzibar by the new road, but this plan was, unfortunately, upset, for a few days afterwards I was laid low with a severe attack of fever. When I could be moved, I was taken away to the French Mission Hospital, where, through the skill of DR. CHARLES-WORTH, and the kind attention of the Sisters of that splendid institution, I was soon restored to health. I felt very thankful that I had really accomplished all that I wished to do before the fever came, and I had just sufficient strength, before the 12th of April, to enable me to see a few more people on the Slave question.

CONVERSATION ON SLAVERY.

On the day of my departure, I had a long conversation with Sir LLOYD MATHEWS touching upon Slavery, and he promised to do everything that was possible to carry out any measure for the abolition of Slavery which the British Government might determine. He also said that he would telegraph to Captain ROGERS about me, so that I might obtain every possible assistance and information.

I afterwards lunched with Mr. HARDINGE, when I had the good fortune to meet COMMISSIONER JOHNSTON, of Nyasaland, who had about 500 Sikh soldiers with him. We had a conversation on the Slave question, and he expressed his horror of the whole business, and his determination to use every means in his power to put it down within his sphere of influence; he spoke hopefully of the districts under his control. I then bade farewell to Mr. HARDINGE, whose kindness and attention during my stay in Zanzibar surpassed anything I could have expected, both he and

Sir LLOYD MATHEWS furthered my plans in every possible way, and, though I may differ from them on the Slave question, I feel sure that they are both sincere in their convictions, being, no doubt, influenced by their surroundings and respective official positions.

FREEMEN KIDNAPPED ON BRITISH TERRITORY.

A few days before my departure, a small capture of Slaves was made by H.M.S. *Phœbe*; this vessel brought to Zanzibar a dhow whose captain kidnapped three men near Port Durnford with the view of taking them as Slaves to Muscat. When the slaver sighted the *Phœbe* the three men were thrown overboard, and were afterwards picked up by the cruiser, a cutter being then despatched to capture the dhow. These men were not Slaves at all, but were freemen, living on British protected territory, where they plied their lawful avocations near the sea-shore—one being a blacksmith. The dhow crept along close to the land, and the Arabs cautiously landed, and then kidnapped the poor men, who naturally thought they were secure under Her Majesty's protection. Had it not been for the activity of the *Phœbe*'s officers and crew the free-men would now be toiling in Slavery in Arabia! The dhow was condemned, the Slaves were set free, and the captain was handed over to the Zanzibar authorities—he *may, possibly, get ten years imprisonment.*

On the afternoon of April 12th we left by the s.s. *Goa* for Mombasa, Lamu, and Aden. Judge CRACKNALL, who was taking a voyage to Aden on account of his health, and a Princess of the royal house of SAID BURGHASH, on her way to Mecca, were among the passengers. Sir LLOYD MATHEWS and several other friends came on board to see us off.

MOMBASA.

Early next morning we came to an anchor before the old town of Mombasa, and Mr. PIGOTT, the I.B.E.A. Administrator, invited me on shore. We walked through the town and looked over the old Portuguese fort. We then proceeded by a small tramway to Mr. PIGOTT's residence, which is about two miles away from the town. Here I partook of luncheon and conversed with Mr. PIGOTT on the Slave question. He said that they had liberated a good many Slaves, but the result was unsatisfactory, as they would not work. He was opposed to the abolition of Slavery, as the Slaves seemed to be perfectly happy, and, in his opinion, they seemed only fit for bondage. This tale was poured into my ears on several occasions. Mr. PIGOTT assured me that many missionaries were of his way of thinking, and from what I heard some of them say his assertions were correct as to their opinion. Mombasa has the finest harbour I have seen on the coast, and may prove of great importance in the future.

LAMU.

I returned to the ship, and we left at once for Lamu, where we arrived early next morning. The steamer anchored a long way from the town, opposite a place full of human bones. Someone told me that a great battle had been fought here, but another more probable account was given me: it was said that this was the place where Slaves used to be shipped for the Arabian coast and other parts, and that these were the bones of the poor creatures who were too weak and sick to be shipped: this took place when the Slave-trade was in full swing.

CAPTAIN ROGERS FAVOURS EMANCIPATION.

Captain ROGERS and Mr. MACLENNAN soon made their appearance in the Government steam launch, and, after breakfast, we proceeded to the old dirty town of Lamu. We were met on landing by the Wali, and at once proceeded to Captain ROGERS' residence, where, after lunch, we had a general talk on the Slave question. Captain ROGERS believed that the abolition of Slavery would prove of the greatest advantage to the country and to the natives; he assured me that they carried out at Witu SAID ALI's decree to the letter; from January to December, 1894, they had liberated 862 Slaves; in 1895, so far, only 20 had been liberated. All the liberated Slaves were working very well in Witu, and were happy and contented. What a different tale to that told by Mr. PIGOTT! The British East Africa Company had liberated, during last year, approximately, 159 Slaves.

RETURN TO ADEN.

I felt quite delighted to meet Captain ROGERS and Mr. MACLENNAN, both most suitable men for their posts. I consider Captain ROGERS to be the ablest administrator in this part of Africa; he is a gentleman who would give a healthy tone to all his surroundings: kind, considerate and just, but firm—qualities which command the respect of all classes in Witu and Lamu. I received every kindness and attention from both these gentlemen during my short visit to Lamu.

We returned to the *Goa* in the launch, and at once set sail for Aden, thus bringing my visit to Zanzibar, Pemba, Dar-es-Salâm, Mombasa, and Lamu to a close.

During the inquiry into the Slave-trade question I had frequent conferences with Mr. HARDINGE, Sir LLOYD MATHEWS, and other officials of the Zanzibar Government. I was also favoured with the valuable opinions of Archdeacon JONES-BATEMAN, Judge CRACKNALL, the principal European merchants of Zanzibar, and many others, as well as private information from the natives. The majority of the Europeans were

opposed to the abolition of Slavery on economic grounds, while others were in favour of total abolition ; no one defended the principle of Slavery in itself.

I fear I must have been a most unwelcome and unpopular visitor to many officials and others in Zanzibar ; the manner in which my movements were ignored by the official organ of the Zanzibar Government was an eloquent testimony to the antipathy to my presence ; but, notwithstanding all this, I received every kindness and consideration from everyone, and I have no hesitation in stating that all the officials of the Zanzibar Government are men of the highest integrity and honour, and that I have the greatest respect for them. My visit has had one result, and that is that the war-ship became more active, and a promise was given of immediate activity in suppressing Slavery.

SUMMARY.

I shall now endeavour to summarise, in order to place before your Society, in a concise form, the whole Slave question of Zanzibar and Pemba as it presents itself to me from the results of enquiry and personal observation :—

It is well known that a Slave-trade has been carried on for many ages past between the interior of Africa and the east coast, Zanzibar and the Arabian coast, or wherever a market could be found for the natives of Africa.

CLASSES OF SLAVES IN THE ISLAND.

These Slaves may be divided into three classes, viz. :—

- (1) Domestic Slaves.
- (2) Plantation or field Slaves.
- (3) Labourers in port towns.

This was the cheapest form of labour the Arabs could find, and they grew rich and flourished in Oriental luxury on the lives of the poor blacks, whom they looked down upon as animals created for their especial benefit. The interior of Africa was the great hunting-ground from which the supply of human beings was to be drawn, whilst Zanzibar, being the seat of Arab power, the Slaves for that island and for Pemba were imported from the opposite coast, many being then, as now, exported from these islands to Muscat and other points of the Arabian coast, as well as from the African mainland.

FORMER TREATIES A DEAD LETTER.

Within recent years England, and other European powers, have endeavoured to place restrictions on the Slave trade, being urged to do

this by the voice of the civilised world. Treaties and decrees were solemnly made by the Sultan of Zanzibar from 1873 to 1890, and promulgated with every formality; cannons were fired to celebrate such events, the British negotiators were duly rewarded with titles and promotion, and the English conscience was satisfied, not dreaming that these solemn engagements always remained, and still remain, as so much waste-paper. If they had been faithfully carried out, Slavery would not now be found either in Zanzibar or Pemba. I very much doubt if they were ever meant to be carried out, for, almost the next day after the Decree of 1890 was made, the Sultan issued another one repealing its most vital clause without, so far as I know, a single protest from Sir EUAN-SMITH or the British Government. To-day, Slavery exists as if no decree had ever been issued. It is true that some rules have been drawn up to regulate the employment of Slave-labour in caravans which seem to me to be of doubtful advantage to the Slaves, and they do not, in any way, interfere with the Slave trade.

RESPONSIBILITIES OF ENGLAND.

Within the last few years, England has become responsible for this state of affairs in Zanzibar and Pemba, yet no improvement has been made in the condition of the Slaves, or any attempt to remove the terrible evil of Slavery itself. British cruisers have, to some extent, checked the importation of Slaves into Zanzibar and Pemba, but the final issue of the case against the Sultan's steamer, the *Kilwa*, without doubt disheartened British officers in their crusade against the Slave trade; at all events, they have not been so energetic since.

POPULATION OF ISLANDS.

We will now consider the population of Zanzibar and Pemba, and, for the purpose of this report, in the absence of census or any other data to assist us, we shall accept the late SAID BURGHASH's estimate as being, in my judgment, a fair calculation of the population of the two islands. SAID BURGHASH estimated the number of inhabitants at 400,000 souls, 266,000 of whom were Slaves. The Europeans and Goanese number some 200, and the British-Indians 8,500. The balance is composed of Arabs, aborigines and freed-slaves, the number of whom is uncertain.

The Arabs, who number, probably, 10,000, have always been the lords of the soil; the Indians, the financiers and merchants; the Europeans, merchants; the Goanese, shopkeepers and servants.

In order that the present state of Slavery may be clearly understood, we shall divide the Slaves into three classes as before:—

Domestic Slaves: principally composed of concubines, male and female household Slaves, and eunuchs.

Plantation Slaves: these work in the *shambas*, Thursday and Friday in each week being usually allowed them to cultivate *m'hogos* or cassava, a root which forms their staple food. They build their own huts, and the masters provide them with loin-cloths, or such scanty clothing as is absolutely necessary.

Labourers in port towns: this class of Slaves work under entirely different conditions to the other two, and they have three distinct occupations, (1) those who work in the harbour as labourers in loading or discharging vessels, and general warehouse and town labour; *women are largely engaged in this work, especially in coaling ships, including our men-of-war, in house-building, or repairing*; (2) the second class are porters who carry goods or stores into the interior of Africa.

European travelling into the interior of Africa has undergone a complete change since the days of Dr. LIVINGSTONE, whose expeditions were peaceful ones, and left behind them pleasant recollections. Now, armed expeditions are pouring into the interior, under the command of Europeans, who, in many cases, kill, plunder and burn the villages of the natives, almost rivalling in horror and destruction the Arab raids in quest of Slaves.

CRUELTY OF EUROPEAN TRAVELLERS.

One well-known German traveller is said to have burnt and plundered a village because the chief refused to send his daughter to his tent. The porters have also been treated, in some cases, with great cruelty, and sometimes, I am sorry to say, they have been brutally murdered by Europeans. These scandals having come to the ears of the Zanzibar Government, rules were drawn up in order to control in some way the leaders of the caravans, or the Europeans who hire the Slaves as porters, but they only mitigate the evil very slightly, the rules not being sufficiently stringent. I drew the attention of Mr. HARDINGE and Sir LLOYD MATHEWS to them, and they promised that the rules should be improved, particularly as regards the circumstances under which men were lost on the journeys.

DOMESTIC SLAVERY.

The third class of Slaves are domestic servants to Europeans, Indians and Goanese, who, not being allowed to hold Slaves direct, have to hire them from their owners.

FREE LABOUR—SO-CALLED.

The various occupations of all these different kinds of Slaves is called “free labour”—quite a misleading name, made to suit European ears—the only difference being that all British subjects deal with the Slaves

direct, and not with the master, or they may hire from a contractor, who need not necessarily be a Slave-holder, but who knows where to get them. Payment is made to the Slaves direct, who, in turn, hand to their masters half of their earnings, with the other half they have to buy their own food and clothes: in the case of porters, the hirer has to provide them with food.

SLAVE PORTERS.

The pay of porters and harbour labourers is, usually, 10 rupees per month; women labourers receive less.

The regulation load of porters is 70 lb. each; but beyond that they have to carry food, water, and cooking utensils, which may bring the load up to 100 lb., or more. They have to march about 12 miles a day.

MORTALITY OF SLAVE PORTERS—30 PER CENT.

These Slave porters are the only means of transport for our Government, for missionaries and merchants between the interior of Africa and the coast. If any of them are taken ill, they are left by the path-side to die, their loads are distributed among the others, and the caravan proceeds on its march, without any further notice being taken of those who drop by the way. The mortality amongst them was given to me on the very highest authority at 30 per cent.—a terrible loss of human life. One traveller went into the interior, a few years ago, with 450 men, and he came back with only 190. This is only an instance of what happens in the “Dark” Continent. The portage of one ton of goods from Mombasa to Uganda costs upwards of £200—rather a heavy price for such a distance.

OTHER SLAVES.

Domestic servants are generally men, and they receive about 7 rupees per month; the women are water carriers, and are paid 5 rupees per month. They all receive their wages direct from their employers, but each hands to the master one-half. A Slave is told by his master to seek employment, and, if he cannot find it, he is punished. Slaves have to work fairly hard in whatever situation they find, and it makes it still worse when the half of their hardly-earned wages goes to the lazy and cruel Arab. The masters have hardly any responsibility as regards the Slaves, and only provide them with food when they are out of employment. As the masters are usually the owners of *shambas*, this hardly costs anything. The masters usually make about 50 per cent. clear profit on the original price of the Slave.

FEW CHILDREN BORN TO SLAVES.

It is a curious fact that Slaves have but very few children, owing, it is said, to the manner in which very young girls are treated by

the Arabs and others ; hence the necessity for the continued importation of raw Slaves to supply the demand. I was much struck with the evidence of non-increase amongst the Slaves as regards children. Taking the death-rate at 30 per mille, upwards of 7,000 Slaves would have to be imported annually to supply this deficiency in labour.

The two great contractors of harbour and warehouse labour are MOHAMMED HADJ and MOHAMMED BARSOOT, and they command the labour market, supplying nearly all the merchants with men and women Slaves. One French merchant does not employ a contractor, but engages anyone who comes, whether freeman or Slave, and he finds this system works satisfactorily. There are some Arab labourers from Hadramout in the port ; these are freemen, and are said to work exceedingly well, even better than Slaves. Of the negro races, it may be said that hardly any freemen exist in the islands.

The Slaves of Zanzibar and Pemba are principally drawn from the following people :—Wa-Nyasa, Wa-Yao, Wa-M'besa, Wa-Yaramu, Wa-Nyamweye, Manyema, Wa-Dego, Wa-Ganda, Wa-Galla.

It would be difficult to point out, with any degree of certainty, the ports or points on the coast from which Slaves are shipped to Zanzibar and Pemba. The following were given to me as being the principal places of embarkation :—Kandouche, Muhuru, M'sale, Kilwa.

ANNUAL IMPORTATION OF SLAVES.

I am told that the mode of transit from the mainland to Zanzibar has been changed, owing to the fact that dhows attracted too much attention, and canoes are now employed to convey the Slaves. There are upwards of 2,000 sailing canoes in Zanzibar, and I should think that there were quite as many in Pemba. I am of opinion that some 6,000 Slaves are imported yearly into Zanzibar and Pemba from the mainland of Africa, for labour on those islands. The traffic in Slaves between the two islands has been modified to some extent. Every Arab who owns estates in Pemba and Zanzibar (and they nearly all do), has the right to send Slaves to work in his *shambas* on any of the islands, the Zanzibar Government giving him a permit for this purpose.

THEIR SHIPMENT TO ARABIA AND PERSIA.

In this way the Arabs are able to carry on a Slave-trade between the two islands, under a pretence that the Slaves are required for their *shambas*, but many are shipped to the Persian Gulf, as I have shown above.

SLAVES HAVE NO CIVIL RIGHTS.

None of the Slaves possess any civil rights, except that they can complain against their masters to the Consul-General in cases of gross

cruelty, and demand their freedom; but it is seldom that they avail themselves of this right. In the first place, very few know of the Consul-General, and, under existing circumstances, freedom would be a curse to them, as they would be outcasts, and their masters would have many ways of getting rid of them by poison or otherwise. The majority would therefore prefer to stand the cruelty, rather than to come into conflict with their masters. Many of the Slaves who have been set free by the Consul-General have afterwards been kidnapped, and no trace of them has been found.

The export of Slaves to the Arabian coast from the mainland of East Africa is probably some 11,000 per annum, Pemba and Zanzibar adding their quota, each dhow taking on an average seven Slaves, though some may risk taking a larger number. According to the Report of the Select Committee on the East African Slave Trade, presented to Parliament in 1871, the export from the mainland into Zanzibar and the Arabian coast amounted to upwards of 20,000 Slaves per annum. My estimate, therefore, is probably much lower than the real number exported from the African coast.

SLAVE DHOWS.

The number of dhows is as follows:—

Dhows going and coming to Zanzibar under various flags ..	816
Pemba	200
Mombasa	200
Lamu	300
<hr/>	
Total number of dhows	1,516
<hr/>	

The dhows make two voyages a year, one to Zanzibar and East Africa, and the other back to Arabia in the south-west monsoon.

The above are only very approximate estimates of the number of Slaves exported, although the calculation is the result of very careful enquiry, and I am anxious not to overstate the case.

In nearly all the dhows which have been captured going north in these parts from time to time small boys were found, mutilated for eunuchs for the harems in Arabia. I am told that the mortality is very great among these poor boys, who are operated upon by native doctors. The SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR is said to have fifteen eunuchs to guard his harem, but I could not learn that any other Arabs have them in these islands.

WOMEN IN CHAIN GANGS.

In Zanzibar I noticed one thing to which public attention should be drawn: women prisoners may be seen every day chained together in gangs of about seven, carrying water or doing some other work, followed by a policeman with a stick. It seems to me that a public exhibition of this kind is very demoralising to the people generally, and I think it should be removed.

SLAVERY A COMPLICATED QUESTION.

The whole system of Slavery in Zanzibar and Pemba is a very complicated question, and to deal with it all its ramifications must be closely examined. The householder seeks the cheapest domestic servants he can find; the merchants look upon the labour question as a serious one, and rightly so, for they know that under present conditions they can command Slave labour at 10 rupees a month, but if Slavery were abolished, they think that the whole labour market would be disturbed, and their business would suffer in consequence; then, in case of the abolition of Slavery, they seek Indian coolie labour. The owners of *shambas* are afraid that their Slaves would run away, and thus their properties would be rendered worthless. The Zanzibar Government is naturally timid, because, if the aforesaid evils were likely to come to pass, the country might soon be in bankruptcy. The bulk of the Zanzibar revenue being derived from the cultivation of cloves, if the Slaves were to cease work or run away there would be no more cloves, and a revenue of upwards of £30,000 a year would be gone.

The British Agent and Consul-General has this dire picture brought vividly before him whenever he makes a suggestion for the purpose of removing, in some way, the evils of Slavery.

Some of the Government officials enlarge on the virtue of Slavery—in fact, according to their views, the Slaves are so happy that they would not accept their freedom if it were offered to them; they say, further, that the African has always been a Slave, and that he is not fitted for anything else; in fact, that he is in love with the lash, the chain, and the fetter. Others are for emancipation outright, and believe there would be no danger in carrying it out, whilst benefit to the islands would accrue. I repeat that these arguments were used to me on several occasions; no one approved of Slavery in principle, but, under existing circumstances, it was considered a blessing to the Africans. I always thought—and do still think—it the greatest curse that ever befell Africa.

The SULTAN is opposed to the abolition of Slavery, because he is the largest Slave-holder in Zanzibar, and is said to possess 30,000 Slaves; if these were set free he would no longer receive an income from them.

LEADING SLAVE-OWNERS AND *Shambas*.

The following list of the principal Slave owners in Zanzibar, which I obtained in the course of my inquiries, will give a fair idea of the different holdings of Slaves by Arabs.

ABDALLAH BEN SALAM—owns 6 *shambas* with 3,000 Slaves on each. He has 1 wife, 5 concubines, and 10 Slaves in his harem. His wife owns 7 small *shambas*, on which she has 1,600 Slaves.

TIPOO TIB—owns 7 *shambas* and 10,000 Slaves.

MOHAMMED BEN SALAM—owns 3 small *shambas* with 250 Slaves. He has 15 Slaves besides for domestic purposes.

AHMED BEN ABDALLAH—owns 4 *shambas* and 350 Slaves.

SALEM BEN ALI—owns 2 *shambas*, on which he lives, and 500 Slaves.

ABDALLAH BEN YUSEF—owns 2 *shambas* and 170 Slaves.

ABDURRAHMAN—owns 2 *shambas* and 119 Slaves.

ALI BEN SALEH—owns 4 *shambas* and 315 Slaves.

SAIF BEN HAWADIE—owns 1 *shamba* and 50 Slaves.

—
The SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR owns 400 Slaves in Dar-es-Salâm.

THE BRITISH-INDIANS.

Behind all these advocates for upholding Slavery stand the British-Indian financiers, who support these ideas with all their might, as they are deeply interested. The Indians are, indirectly, the real Slave-holders of Zanzibar and Pemba. All the Arab *shambas*, or estates, are mortgaged to them up to the hilt, and, naturally, the abolition of Slavery would remove one of the chief assets, or securities, for their mortgages. They have also financed, and, I suppose, still finance Slave caravans; indeed, it was a well-known Indian who first financed TIPOO TIB. (I met this arch-Slave dealer in Zanzibar lately.) Some of the Indians were accused of direct Slave dealing. They foreclose mortgages on houses in towns, but not on the *shambas*, as the English law will not allow British subjects to hold Slaves to work the estates. On this account they allow the Arabs to keep in possession, and content themselves with receiving their interest. They much fear that if Slavery were to be abolished their money would be lost, as, they say, the Slaves would run away and the *shambas* would be worthless.

With the object of showing how far the British-Indians are financially interested in maintaining the present state of affairs, I give the following information, which has been derived from official sources.

NUMBER AND VALUE OF MORTGAGES.

The number of mortgages registered at the British Consulate and at the offices of the Zanzibar Government up to March last were as follows:—

	Rupees.
<i>Zanzibar</i> .. 2,350 mortgages representing a value of	2,903,304
<i>Pemba</i> .. 946 " " " some 1,764,453	

A sum representing 20 per cent. of these values has been added in order to provide for mortgages not registered.

The rate of interest on these mortgages ranges from 20 to 30 per cent. per annum. These facts show that the Indians and other mortgagors hold some £220,000 in these *shambas*.

The number of *shambas* in Zanzibar and Pemba, based on the above figures, amount to 3,955; and, allowing an average of six Arabs to each *shamba*, we have an estimated total of upwards of 20,000 Arabs, so that my calculation of 15,000 Arabs in the two islands, as given elsewhere, is well within the mark.

By dividing SAID BURGHASH'S estimate of 266,000 Slaves by the number of *shambas*, as given above, we obtain an average of about 67 Slaves to each *shamba*, which appears to be a very moderate estimate; for, of course, this does not include porters, labourers, and domestic Slaves, which are very numerous.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY WOULD NOT DISTURB THE PROSPERITY OF
ZANZIBAR AND PEMBA.

The arguments given above arise from highly interested motives, and all those whose interests may be affected are banded together to thwart any measure which Her Majesty's Government may propose. There were, no doubt, similar opponents to every measure of freedom that has been proposed for the benefit of the human family. Did serfs run away when they were set free? or did Slaves in British possessions run away when they gained their freedom? If all the Slaves of Zanzibar and Pemba were freed to-morrow I do not think for a moment that it would disturb the prosperity of these islands. The freed Slaves could not live on their freedom, they would have to work for their living; the necessity for labour on *shambas* and in port towns would not cease with the abolition of Slavery; the Arab would require labour for his *shamba*; the merchant would require men for loading and discharging cargo, and for his warehouse; the householder would still want servants. If the Slaves were free they would receive their pay in full, work more willingly and better for their employers, and, the blacks being vain and fond of dress, their freedom would, in my opinion, improve the trade in manufactured goods.

The present Arab free labour from the Hadramout is an evidence that if the monopoly now enjoyed by large contractors were removed there would be a larger influx of these people for the purposes of labour. These men, who are perfectly free, load and discharge all vessels in Aden, receiving about 10d. a day.

From my own personal observation these men work exceedingly well, and their labour is far superior to that of the Slaves of Zanzibar.

THE METAYER SYSTEM.

As far as the Arabs in Zanzibar and Pemba are concerned, they might arrange to pay the freed Slaves half the product for their labour instead of money. This is a custom in many parts of the world, and is well known to the Arabs, who probably introduced it into Spain, where it still exists. This idea apparently favourably impressed Sir LLOYD MATHEWS when I suggested it to him.

I do not see that the abolition of Slavery would injure the revenue of the Zanzibar Government. I think a great advantage would result from it in every way, and some of the Zanzibar officials and merchants hold these views.

I do not deny that some of the Arabs treat their Slaves fairly well and, perhaps, kindly, their condition naturally depending upon the disposition of the master; but we have to look beyond that. The principle is opposed to all that Europeans hold dear—personal liberty, and the view that no human being of any colour should be made an article of barter or exchange.

ANNUAL LOSS OF LIFE.

Then we have to consider that, according to the lowest estimate, the sacrifice of human lives in Central Africa which has to be made to place 266,000 Slaves in Zanzibar and Pemba reaches the appalling amount of over one million souls. Every year 24,000 lives have to be sacrificed in order to supply the local demand in Zanzibar and Pemba. Over 40,000 lives are sacrificed yearly to supply the export of Slaves to the Arabian coast. This is why a Slave who cost, in the interior, a few yards of calico, is worth from £10 to £20 by the time he reaches the coast, so many dying in capture and on the road.

COMMISSIONER RECOMMENDS ABOLITION OF LEGAL STATUS OF SLAVERY AT EARLIEST POSSIBLE MOMENT.

In looking at the whole question calmly, I am convinced that the legal status of Slavery should be abolished at the earliest possible moment. I did think that compensation might form part of the scheme, but when we consider that all treaties and decrees have been thrown

aside as waste paper, and that Slavery has been going on for upwards of 20 years in violation of solemn engagements entered into with this country, I think that the question of compensation should be dismissed ; in fact, I very much doubt if any Slaves imported prior to 1873 are in existence. But any measure which the Government may propose for the abolition of Slavery in Zanzibar and Pemba will share the same fate as former treaties and decrees, unless the carrying out of such measure is entrusted to a special staff of English officers appointed for the purpose.

MISSIONARY SOCIETIES.

There is another point that I feel I ought to refer to in this report. It does not appear to me that Missionary Societies engaged in mission work in Africa give that help which they might do to forward the cause of freedom. It seems to me that members of Missionary Societies stationed in Africa should be desired to give information on the Slave-trade to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, it being an association devoted to the abolition of Slavery throughout the world, and its usefulness would be increased if all information on Slave matters were to be sent to that Society. We ought all to remember Dr. LIVINGSTONE'S words that Slavery is "the open sore of the world."

ABOLITION SHOULD BE PRESSED UPON THE GOVERNMENT.

It seems to me that the question of the abolition of Slavery in Zanzibar, Pemba, and East Africa should not be allowed to remain any longer in abeyance. "Waiting for reports" is an old excuse ; these have been sent in to the Foreign Office by every successive Consul-General, but nothing has been done to blot out the terrible iniquity, and Slavery, with all its train of miseries and crimes, goes on every month and every year, to the dishonour of the English name. The blanched bones which strew the ground passed over by the Slave caravans on their funeral march to the coast ; the blood and desolation which have always followed in the wake of Slave-hunting, all cry for reparation and vengeance for the crimes of ages. England will not surely hold back from removing this terrible evil when it can be done with a stroke of the pen ; and those who are working for the civilization of Africa should never forget the horrible bloodshed and enormous loss of life that has taken place in the dark interior, in order to produce the Slave population in Zanzibar and Pemba.

I am, Gentlemen,

Yours very faithfully,

DONALD MACKENZIE.

ADEN, *May 6th, 1895.*

Press Criticisms.

MR. DONALD MACKENZIE's report was sent out to nearly two hundred organs of the press throughout the kingdom, and it appears to have met with a most favourable reception. Of course only a certain amount of these have found their way into the office of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, and although the cuttings from these already fill some forty pages of a large double-column guard book, no doubt a much larger number have not yet been forwarded to us.

The London press has not yet been specially liberal in giving insertion to quotations from Mr. MACKENZIE's interesting report, though an exception must be made in the case of *The Times* and *Daily Chronicle*, both of which papers devoted a large space to the question so admirably treated in the report.

A great many of the leading country papers have been very outspoken in denouncing the system of Slavery under British Protection, of which Mr. MACKENZIE has given so elaborate a description.

It is impossible for us to give more than one or two specimens from representative journals, but we select one from a first-class English paper, one from the principal organ of the Baptist denomination, and one from *The Friend*.

There is only one exception to the general chorus in praise of the spirited action of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY in sending out a Special Commissioner to examine into the question of Slavery in Zanzibar and Pemba—a question with which two successive British Governments have been so unaccountably dallying. This exception comes from a city in the Midlands, which we should have thought would have been the last place in which a sneer would have been raised. The *Birmingham Gazette*, on August 3rd, after devoting a few lines to a notice of the report, ventures to throw a doubt upon its accuracy in the following words:—

"Mr. MACKENZIE is convinced that the legal status of Slavery should be abolished, and, if his report be true, the other side is scarcely open to argument. But, is it true? Some of the British officials, and some of the missionaries, on Mr. MACKENZIE's own showing, do not admit it."

We can only say, so much the worse for the missionaries.

From "THE FREEMAN," August 16th.

To be consistent with truth, it becomes necessary to recognise that the British flag has been recently lowered disgracefully. It was our proud boast that it never waves over a Slave. To our poignant regret we find that virtually it does so. In the two islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, over which it is now unfurled, there are over one quarter of a million of fellow men and women held in this horrible bondage. And to keep the iniquity alive, over one million souls have been sacrificed. Then why is it not stopped? That sluggish Foreign Office is "waiting for reports." It is the old excuse. Successive consuls send accounts, and they are carefully read and endorsed and acknowledged. The eastern valleys and plains of the dark continent of Africa

are strewn with the whitened bones of the slain. Horrible tales abhorred by ears polite come by the thousand. The abomination could be annihilated in a short space of time. There is minuting and docketing and pigeon-holing in abundance. Nothing is done. And we recall the inspired exhortation of the wise man of old, "If thou forbear to deliver them that are drawn unto death, and those that are ready to be slain : if thou sayest, behold we knew it not, doth not He that pondereth the heart consider it ? and He that keepeth thy soul, doth not He know it ? And shall not He render to every man according to his works ?" Would we could get this text written in large letters in the grand offices of Whitehall, so that there should be action instead of filing letters.

Mr. DONALD MACKENZIE, a gentleman whose long experience of Mohammedan customs and Slavery amongst the Arabs in North-West Africa, coupled with some knowledge of Arabic, well fit him for such an undertaking, has been to Zanzibar and Pemba on a special commission from the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY to enquire into the state of Slavery and the Slave-trade in the British Protectorate of Zanzibar. His report lies before us. It is brief and unsensational, but awful reading for a true Briton. Slavery means the destruction of all rights in men and all virtue in women. We hate it as a cowardly mingling of every kind of crime. England has been looked up to as the great annihilator of this devil-conceived curse. She has been urged to destroy it in these territories in East Africa and the outlying islands over which she has the protectorate. She has been bidden to take action by the voice of the civilised world. Treaties and decrees were solemnly made by the SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR from 1873 to 1890, and promulgated with every formality ; cannons were fired to celebrate such events, the British negotiators were duly rewarded with titles and promotion. Then the Arabs and Indian financiers laughed at our mandates. Mr. MACKENZIE says : "To-day Slavery exists as if no decree had been issued." The population of the two islands of Zanzibar and Pemba is estimated at 400,000 souls, of which 266,000 are Slaves. Of these, the high probability is that very few, if any, imported prior to 1873 are in existence. In that year it was by treaty made illegal to import any more Slaves into these islands. With 1,500 dhows under various flags, it is found that here is the great market for the Arabian coast. British power now sustains the system at its very heart.

The Zanzibar Slavery is far more horrible than any which existed in the Southern States of America. "Uncle Tom's Cabin" is a gentle mild tale compared with a narrative of transactions on the East Coast of Africa. Mr. MACKENZIE met with estate holders who could not believe in the possibility of managing estates anywhere by free labour. He says : "We enquired of several people if Slaves were cruelly treated by their masters. The reply was that they were sometimes, and that often they were beaten to death in order to strike terror into the minds of the others. The punishment of Slaves was left to the masters' own discretion, with no check of any sort on the part of the authorities, and, as they are all Slave-dealers, from the authorities downwards, they would play into each other's hands." And again : "In Zanzibar I noticed one thing to which public attention should be drawn—women prisoners may be seen every day, chained together in gangs of about seven, carrying water or doing some other work, followed by a policeman with a stick. It seems to me that a public exhibition of this kind is very demoralising to the people generally, and I think it should be removed." But we do not want to enter into particulars. The system is devilish and so degrading that of the two it seems a greater curse to the Slave-owners than to the Slaves themselves. The SULTAN is known to be opposed

to its abolition, because he is the largest Slave-holder in Zanzibar, and is said to possess 30,000.

Mr. MACKENZIE met with several gentlemen who believed that the abolition of Slavery would be financially of great benefit to Zanzibar. Captain ROGERS, said to be the ablest administrator in that part of Africa, believes that the abolition of Slavery would prove of the greatest advantage to the country and to the natives. Into that we do not enter, except to express a strong opinion that in so beautiful a group of islands it is highly probable such is the case, for the present system seems to be a great failure, the estates being deeply mortgaged. We argue on totally different grounds. If it were absolute ruin, Slavery ought to be immediately crushed. There has been time enough for the miserable farce of destroying it gradually. What would one of our judges say to the request of a notorious burglar to be permitted to give up his criminal course gradually? And burglary seems almost virtuous by the side of Slavery. With sin there ought to be no parleying. Short and swift execution is its only dessert. We demand the immediate cessation of Slavery, wherever the British flag flies, cost what it may. For Zanzibar we repudiate any compensation or further delay. Let it be done at once. We detest seeing this stain of human blood on our flag, and should be glad indeed, instead of making it easy for those who have besouled it, if some just retribution could fall upon, not only the agents, but those who hinder the immediate repulse of this inroad of hell upon earth.

From the "LIVERPOOL DAILY POST," August 14th.

"The weight of England in the scale of emancipation has been great. The most pensive of all the poets has declared, in a passage of surpassing pathos—'Slaves cannot breathe in England ; if their lungs Receive our air, that moment they are free : They touch our country and their shackles fall.' With this sentiment in mind, it gives a shock of disappointment to peruse a report on Slavery and the Slave-trade in Zanzibar, Pemba, and the Mainland of the British Protectorates of East Africa, which has been presented to the Committee of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY by their Special Commissioner, Mr. DONALD MACKENZIE. Although there is a SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR, British influence throughout his dominions is of considerable weight. Zanzibar had for many years been so notorious as a Slave market that the humanity of the Western World was scandalised. England and other Powers, urged by the voice of united Christendom, has made some effort in recent years to efface the blot. Treaties and decrees were made with the SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR from 1873 to 1890, and promulgated with every formality. Cannons were fired in celebration of the auspicious event, the British negotiators were rewarded with titles and promotion, and the English conscience was appeased with the promise of reforms so demonstratively signalled. According to Mr. MACKENZIE's report, however, the pledge is unfulfilled. He avers that if the engagements entered into had been faithfully carried out Slavery would not now be found either in Zanzibar or Pemba. Instead of being in the way of merging into a tradition, it is a ubiquitous, unwholesome fact. The late SAID BURGHASH estimated the population of Zanzibar and Pemba at 400,000 souls, 260,000 of whom were Slaves ! Over three-fifths of a population in which British influence prevails bondsmen to their fellow creatures, notwithstanding the repulsion which the name of Slavery arouses in every British mind !

"There are passages in Mr. MACKENZIE's soberly written narrative so redolent of LEGREE in 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' that no British Government which defers remedial action is worthy of public confidence, now that they have been brought to light by an

accredited witness. Mr. MACKENZIE inquired of several people if Slaves were cruelly treated by their masters. 'The reply was that they were sometimes, and that often they were beaten to death in order to strike terror into the hearts of others.' In the artless construction of this sentence will be found the best evidence possible that no attempt has been made to invest the Commissioner's simple statement with those touches of sentiment and literary polish which are calculated to arouse the sympathies of an emotional public. The transposition of the words 'sometimes' and 'often' would have brought the infliction of cruelty and the ratio of fatal results into better harmony. As the sentence stands, it would seem as if being beaten to death was a more frequent incident among the hapless bondsmen than cruel treatment short of fatal results. It appears that there is no control over the punishment of the victims, which is dictated by the caprice or the temper of the owners. A waggish writer once asserted, with probably a good deal more truth than he was aware of, that the length of a criminal's sentence was often chiefly contingent on the state of a judge's digestion and corns. How much more likely is this to be the case where there is no breath of public opinion to proclaim the disparity between punishment and offence? Elsewhere Mr. MACKENZIE remarks:—'The condition of the women in Pemba is something very terrible. They mix mortar, carry loads of sand, stone, or any other material, and if hired out they have to pay all they receive to their Arab masters, who live luxuriously on the earnings of these poor women.' It must be admitted that the hours of work—from 7 a.m. to 4 p.m.—do not appear distressing, from a European standpoint. But the terrible heat and oppressive humidity of the climate render these hours very long for open-air work. In Pemba the two principal diseases are of an almost intractable type—namely, elephantiasis and ophthalmia. Sometimes epidemics visit the island and sweep off thousands of the inhabitants. Between climatic liabilities and the severity of their taskmasters, the lot of the East African Slave can be little else than a weary procession from captivity to the grave.

"The responsibility for the state of affairs described Mr. MACKENZIE lays mainly at the door of England. He doubts whether the solemn engagements entered into by the SULTAN were ever meant to be carried out. It is a fact of overpowering significance that almost the next day after the Decree of 1890 was made the SULTAN issued another one, repealing its most vital clause, without, so far as the narrator knows, a single protest from Sir EUAN SMITH or the British Government. The broad fact remains, at all events, that Slavery exists as if no decree had ever been issued. As for the importation of fresh Slaves into Zanzibar and Pemba, Mr. MACKENZIE admits that to some extent it has been checked by British cruisers. But he adds that the final issue of the case against the SULTAN's steamer, the *Kilwa*, has, without doubt, disheartened British officers in their crusade against the trade in human beings, as evinced by the abatement of their energy since that event. One paragraph in the report is of curious import as indicating the extent to which the Slave-trade must be carried on. 'It is a curious fact,' he observes, 'that Slaves have but very few children, owing, it is said, to the manner in which very young girls are treated by the Arabs and others; hence the necessity for the continued importation of raw Slaves to supply the demand. Taking the death rate at 30 per mille, upwards of 7,000 Slaves would have to be imported annually to supply this deficiency in labour.' What must be quite evident is that the intercepting of recruits would in little more than a generation bring about the extinction of Slavery, independent of any sweeping measure of enfranchisement. All the avenues, ashore and afloat, are practically in the hands of Great Britain. Perusal of such a terrible passage as the subjoined must

inflame the zeal of the most stoical for a crusade which will give the hateful institution of Slavery no quarter until it is wiped out :—‘ According to the lowest estimate, the sacrifice of human life in Central Africa which has to be made to place 266,000 Slaves in Zanzibar and Pemba reaches the appalling amount of over one million souls. Every year 24,000 lives have to be sacrificed in order to supply the local demand in Zanzibar and Pemba. Over 40,000 lives are sacrificed to supply the export of Slaves to the Arabian coast. This is why a Slave, who costs, in the interior, a few yards of cloth, is worth from £10 to £20 by the time he reaches the coast, so many dying in capture and on the road.’ It would be a waste of argument, after this, to adduce reasons why the legal status of Slavery, whether with or without compensation, should be abolished without the loss of an unnecessary moment. The recital of such horrors brings into fresh prominence the old but inscrutable mystery, Why man should be vested with the ‘ will and power to make his fellow mourn.’ ”

From “THE FRIEND,” August 23rd.

“ The BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY acted wisely in sending a Special Commissioner to Zanzibar and Pemba to make inquiries on the spot into the condition of things prevailing in regard to Slavery. In regard especially to the island of Pemba our knowledge has been too largely based on estimates, and it is an advantage to learn the facts now from one who has actually visited the island. In DONALD MACKENZIE the Society secured one who has had long experience of Mohammedan customs and Slavery among Arabs in North-West Africa, and whose partial knowledge of Arabic was of assistance in the course of his investigations. Leaving England last February, DONALD MACKENZIE reached Zanzibar in March, and the greater part of that month and part of April were devoted to his inquiries. The result is now embodied in a paper just issued by the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, and all who desire to understand the exact position of affairs would do well to secure a copy.

“ During the past year the Anti-Slavery Committee of the Meeting for Sufferings, as well as the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, have done a good deal towards enlightening the public on the matter. The facts brought forward at the public meetings held in connection with most of our quarterly meetings have no doubt opened the eyes of many. Yet there is still a large section of the public who know nothing about these things, and there are many into whose hands it is hoped this report may fall to whom it will be a revelation. We are glad to know that a copy has already been placed in the hands of nearly every member of the new Parliament.

“ Probably it will come as a surprise to most to learn that ‘ the majority of the Europeans [in Zanzibar] are opposed to the abolition of Slavery.’ True, this is ‘on economic grounds’—the old objection to the abolition of many a curse. ‘ Economic grounds’ stood in the way of the abolition of Slavery sixty years ago ; the same grounds block the way towards the abolition of the opium curse to-day ; so that it may easily be understood that while the principle is not defended, abolition is still objected to by those whose pockets would be touched by such a measure.

“ DONALD MACKENZIE spent several days in Pemba, during most of the time being the only European on the island ; and there is reason to believe that till that time no European had made so long a stay. Since his departure a British Vice-Consul has taken up his residence at Chaki Chaki. Pemba is at present inhabited by four classes of population—the Arabs, who are lords of the soil, and own most of the Slaves ; the

Wa-Pemba (or aborigines), inhabiting the eastern side of the island, and carrying on a similar trade to that of the Arabs ; the Indians, who are the merchants and financiers ; and the Slaves, who are estimated to form some 89 per cent of the whole population. The Special Commissioner describes it as the most fertile island he has ever seen, its chief exports being cloves, clove stems, and copra. His investigations were made at three separate points on the island—Chaki Chaki, Wetí, and Kishi Kashi ; and a ride through the interior of the country of ten to fifteen miles gave further facility for judging of the condition of the Slaves.

“ Though armed with numerous credentials from the SULTAN, the British Consul-General, and the Prime Minister, to the chief men and merchants in the island, and although well received everywhere, D. MACKENZIE afterwards learned that his arrival had previously been announced by two Arab officials sent on before by the SULTAN, who is himself much interested in the question financially, being the largest Slave-holder in these parts, owning probably about 30,000. Notwithstanding this disadvantage, the Special Commissioner was able to obtain a good insight into the methods adopted in the island, and his report is a plain, unvarnished tale of what he saw. . . .

“ Numerous obstacles were placed in the way of the ride through the interior. Doubtless the Arabs feared that the Englishman would learn too much. But, with firmness, all difficulties were overcome. Everywhere the same system was seen at work. The beautiful country, with its clove plantations, presented a picture of loveliness exceeding anything seen in Zanzibar. But underneath all lay the festering sore of Slavery.

“ How these Slaves are brought to Pemba is one matter requiring elucidation. Some of the Slaves at Chaki Chaki ‘ complained that they had been brought from Zanzibar under false pretences, they having been told that they were required for their master’s plantations, but on their arrival they had been sold.’ The following incident illustrates the more direct method of kidnapping :—

“ ‘ A few days before my departure, a small capture of Slaves was made by H.M.S. *Phœbe* ; this vessel brought to Zanzibar a dhow, whose captain kidnapped three men near Port Durnford, with the view of taking them as Slaves to Muscat. When the Slaver sighted the *Phœbe*, the three men were thrown overboard, and were afterwards picked up by the cruiser, a cutter being then despatched to capture the dhow. These men were not Slaves at all, but were free men, living on British protected territory, where they plied their lawful avocations near the seashore—one being a blacksmith. The dhow crept along close to the land, and the Arabs cautiously landed and then kidnapped the poor men, who naturally thought they were secure under Her Majesty’s protection. Had it not been for the activity of the *Phœbe*’s officers and crew, the free men would now be toiling in Slavery in Arabia ! The dhow was condemned, the Slaves were set free, and the captain was handed over to the Zanzibar authorities ; he *may possibly* get ten years’ imprisonment.’ . . .

“ The responsibility of England cannot be shifted. The late Government gave the matter some attention ; but delay was urged until receipt of the very Report now under notice. In view of the presentation of this Report and of other considerations, questions were rightly put in the House of Commons the other day, by J. A. PEASE and T. BAYLEY, as to the intentions of the present Government. The reply of the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs did not promise much, and the matter needs to be followed up. There is no longer any ground for delay, and our Government should be called upon to act at once. DONALD MACKENZIE urges the abolition of the legal

status of Slavery at the earliest possible moment ; and concludes by enforcing the desirability of prompt action. . . .

"The Report fully confirms the statements of J. A. PEASE in his pamphlet issued this year, and should prove a forcible addition to the weapons with which the war against the great evil is being fought."

Confirmation of Mr. Mackenzie's Report.

A letter from the Bishop of Equatorial Africa, forwarded by Sir JOHN KENNAWAY to *The Times*, contains a most valuable confirmation of Mr. MACKENZIE's views upon what would follow the abolition of Slavery in Zanzibar.

The Bishop states that :—

"The abolition of Slavery, in my opinion, will not lead to less, but rather to increased production."

This has been found to be the case in the United States and in other countries where Slavery has been abolished.

It is true that Bishop TUCKER does not object to compensation being given to the Arabs, but on this point it is needless to state that the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY does not agree with the Bishop.

When people are found with stolen goods the police do not usually pay them for giving them up ; and no one can pretend that the Arabs have any legal claim to the Slaves whom they have smuggled into the island ever since the Slave-trade was abolished in 1873, to say nothing of the moral law which can in no case sanction property in human flesh.

BISHOP TUCKER'S TESTIMONY.

Sir J. H. KENNAWAY writes as follows to *The Times* :—"I enclose herewith a letter just received from Bishop TUCKER which I am asked to forward to you for publication. It coincides with the report on Slavery and the Slave-trade in the British Protectorates of East Africa presented to the Committee of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY by their Special Commissioner, which appears in your columns to-day. Both the Bishop and the Commissioner are agreed that honour and justice require that the legal status of Slavery should be abolished forthwith. But, whereas the Bishop contemplates the giving of compensation to owners, the Commissioner is of opinion that this could no longer be demanded, in view of the fact that the Slavery of the past twenty years has been going on in violation of solemn engagements entered into with this country, under which the importation of Slaves subsequent to 1873 was made illegal. It seems, however, necessary that if the measure is to be effectual its carrying out should be intrusted to a special staff of English officers appointed for the purpose. The revelation of the character of the mode of transport between the coast and the lake Victoria Nyanza makes it imperative that this matter, as well as the construction of a railway, should at once be dealt with."

MOMBASA, *July 2nd, 1895.*

"Sir,—May I be allowed to express the anxiety of many out here with respect to any possible postponement of the abolition of Slavery within the limits of the Zanzibar Protectorates? Very clever schemes have been sketched for the gradual abolition of the hateful 'institution.' So clever, indeed, and plausible are these schemes, that I am somewhat fearful lest principle should be drowned in the sea of plausibility. Stress is laid upon the expense that would be incurred in compensating the Slave-owners were immediate abolition proclaimed. Are we, may I ask, to weigh expense against principle? To my dull comprehension the question seems to be simply one of right or wrong. If it be wrong, then no question of £30,000 a year should be allowed for a moment to interfere with the doing of the right. Our fathers, thank God, had sufficient moral courage to insist on the abolition of Slavery in the West Indies, even at the cost of millions, and England at that time in point of prosperity was immensely poorer than the England of to-day. Has England degenerated? I cannot and will not believe it.

"But we are also told that immediate abolition will lead to the dislocation of local production and trade, and bring consequent suffering upon many unconnected with Slave holding or the Slave trade. It is contended that the African will not work unless he is forced to do so, and that the plantations in the Island of Pemba will fall out of cultivation should the Slaves be freed. My answer is that the African will not work more than he can help in a state of Slavery; but, as a matter of fact, he will work and does work in a state of liberty. I have travelled through many countries in Africa, and closely watched the life of the people with whom I have come in contact, and the conclusion I have arrived at is that the free African is an extremely hard-working man. Take away the inducement to labour, and he is as idle as the veriest loafer in the streets of London. The abolition of Slavery in my opinion will not lead to less, but rather to increased production.

"Then, again, it is said that as a rule the Slave out here is fairly happy and contented, and is not at all ill-treated. Suppose this were granted (and I am not at all disposed to agree to the statement), it does not make right that which is morally wrong. The fact that a Slave is contented in his servile state only goes to show the degrading influence of Slavery.

"But the object of this letter is not to attempt to disprove the statements of those who plead for gradual abolition, but only to remind my fellow countrymen that to delay even for a day is to wrong thousands of our fellow-creatures, and to express the earnest hope that nothing shall be allowed to interfere for a moment with this act of righteousness and justice which every principle of morality and all the traditions of our country call upon us to perform. 'Righteousness exalteth a nation: but sin is a reproach to any people.'

"I am, your obedient servant,

"ALFRED R. TUCKER, *Bishop E. Eq. Africa.*"

Memorial from the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

55, NEW BROAD STREET, LONDON, E.C.,
August 2nd, 1895.

TO THE RIGHT HON. THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY, K.G., ETC., ETC., HER MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

MY LORD.—I am directed by the Committee of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY to again bring before your Lordship's notice the question of the abolition of the status of Slavery in Zanzibar and Pemba, which it has already frequently done during the years 1886 to 1892, when the seals of the Foreign Office were in your Lordship's hands.

On the assumption by Great Britain, in 1890, of the Protectorate of those islands and the strip upon the mainland, the Society publicly urged upon Her Majesty's Government the fact that the abolition of Slavery was imperative under the altered conditions, and in June of that year, whilst congratulating the Government upon its policy with regard to Zanzibar, dwelt with particular satisfaction upon that portion of your Lordship's despatch to Sir EDWARD MALET which stated that—

"The direct control and extensive influence which this arrangement will confer upon Great Britain will furnish a powerful assistance to the efforts which are being made for the suppression of the maritime Slave-trade, as well as for the extirpation of Slavery itself."

On August 2nd, 1890, the London press published a telegram to the effect that on the previous day, which was the anniversary of Emancipation in the British Colonies, the SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR had issued "a Decree directed against the status of Slavery throughout the Zanzibar Dominions." It was hoped that under British influence this Decree would prove to be a genuine act of abolition, and it was, therefore, with feelings of disappointment and astonishment that the Society afterwards learned that Clause II. of this edict decreed that "the status of the Slaves should be unchanged;" this feeling was intensified when it became known that two short supplementary Decrees had been issued by the SULTAN which still further riveted the bonds of the Slaves. (*Enclosure No. 1.*)

The earnest attention of Her Majesty's Government was therefore called by this Society, on August 12th, 1890, to the increased responsibilities incurred by the British Nation with respect to Slavery and the Slave-trade, by the assumption of the Protectorate over Zanzibar, and in reply to the Memorial then forwarded (*Enclosure No. 2*), your Lordship stated that this matter would not be lost sight of by Her Majesty's Government.

Your Lordship was good enough, in the month of April, 1892, to forward to the Committee notice of a Decree (*Enclosure No. 3*), issued by the SULTAN

OF ZANZIBAR, in September, 1891, forbidding the recruitment of soldiers, coolies, and porters for service beyond His Highness' Dominions. This Decree, would, if carried out, have prevented the hiring of Slaves for caravan service to the interior of Africa, outside the Zanzibar territories, and it has been a matter of regret to the Committee that no attempt has, apparently, been made to carry out this beneficial edict, which would have necessitated the employment of free porters instead of Slaves.

Abundant proof exists that since the assumption by England of the Protectorate over Zanzibar, private and official caravans have been very numerous, and all, even those of missionaries, have been, and are, provided with Slave porters, amongst whom, it is stated on the highest authority, the mortality is alarmingly high—in one notorious case amounting to over fifty per cent.

With a view to prevent the continuance of so flagrant an abuse as the carrying out of a system for providing Slave Porters from a British Protectorate, to any hunter, trader, or other person who might wish to enter Central Africa, a large Deputation from the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, supported by several of the leading Chambers of Commerce, waited upon the EARL OF ROSEBERY, soon after the change of Government in 1892, and presented a Memorial (*Enclosure No. 4*), urging the Government to lose no time in carrying out Article I. of the General Act of the Brussels Conference, which provides for the construction of roads, and particularly of railways, in Africa. The change from the costly system of human portage to a comparatively inexpensive railway carriage, and the blow which would be struck at the Slave-trade, formed a prominent portion of the arguments used by the eminent and influential gentlemen who addressed LORD ROSEBERY on that occasion, and His Lordship's answer admitted that England could not afford to break the continuity of her moral policy as regards the traffic in human flesh.

The Committee would therefore trust that the promise given in the House of Commons by Sir EDWARD GREY, on June 13th, 1895, that the construction of a railway from Mombasa to the Victoria Nyanza should shortly be commenced, will be carried out without delay by Her Majesty's present advisers.

In August, 1893, the Committee of this Society again addressed the EARL OF ROSEBERY (*Enclosure No. 5*) on the subject of the continued shipment of Slaves from the mainland and island of Zanzibar, and reminded his lordship that Sir JOHN KIRK, in March, 1884, had reported to the Foreign Office that he believed "the non-recognition of Slavery as a status known to law to be essential to prosperity in Pemba."

In reply, LORD ROSEBERY informed the Committee that they might rest assured that this important question would be very carefully considered by Her Majesty's Government.

Later in the same year, the Committee of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, having asked the EARL OF ROSEBERY to receive a Deputation from that body, were requested by his lordship to forward in writing their views upon the question of Slavery in Zanzibar and Pemba. To this request the Committee responded without delay, and of the lengthy Memorial which was then addressed to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, I have the honour to enclose a copy for the information of your Lordship (*Enclosure No. 6*).

During the year 1894 several Memorials to Her Majesty's Government were forwarded by this Society, protesting against the continuance of Slavery in Zanzibar and Pemba, and the question having been taken up by many of the principal religious bodies in England, and numerous public meetings having been held throughout the country, a considerable number of resolutions were sent in to the Foreign Office in support of the Society's contention that the existence of Slavery in a British Protectorate was opposed to the Anti-Slavery policy which had hitherto been carried out by Great Britain.

In view of the amount of public opinion which had been awakened on this question, in November, 1894, the EARL OF KIMBERLEY directed Mr. HARDINGE, Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General at Zanzibar, to enquire whether some fresh steps could not be taken towards the extinction of the status of Slavery in Zanzibar and Pemba. The Official Correspondence relating to this subject as set forth in "Africa, No. 6, 1895," is no doubt well known to your lordship.

So important did the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY consider the matter treated of in LORD KIMBERLEY's despatch, that in the beginning of the present year (1895) the Committee sent out a Special Commissioner to Zanzibar in order to investigate the Slave question in that Protectorate. The Report of the Society's Commissioner, who has now returned (*Enclosure No. 7*), has already been laid before your Lordship, and will, the Committee feel assured, receive that attention from Her Majesty's Government which the importance of the subject demands.

Previous to the issue of this Report an interesting debate took place in the House of Commons on a supplementary vote for Slave-trade purposes, when Mr. J. A. PEASE, M.P. presented a petition from the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY (*Enclosure No. 8*), praying that immediate measures be taken for the entire abolition of Slavery and the Slave-trade in the Protectorates of Great Britain, and especially in Zanzibar and Pemba. Petitions were also presented on this and subsequent occasions from various religious bodies and others, in support of the abolition of Slavery, and in his reply to the numerous speakers in the debate, Sir EDWARD GREY, Her Majesty's Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, stated that until the Official Report asked for by the Government had been received, he could not pledge the Ministry to take any particular steps in the matter, "but the

thing had to be done, and the Government had asked for a Report from those best able to judge as to the best means of doing it."

The Committee hope and believe that now that the Reports from Her Majesty's Representatives in Zanzibar, past and present, have been received, supplemented as they are by the carefully-drawn Report of the Society's Special Commissioner, Her Majesty's Government will, without further delay, bring to an end the troublesome and disgraceful condition of the Slave question in Zanzibar, by declaring the abolition of the status of Slavery in all the Protectorates under the British Crown.

On behalf of the Committee, I have the honour to be,
Your Lordship's faithful servant,
CHARLES H. ALLEN, *Secretary.*

[REPLY.]

FOREIGN OFFICE, *August 14th, 1895.*

SIR,—I am directed by the MARQUIS OF SALISBURY to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 6th instant, with accompanying correspondence, relating to the question of Slavery in Zanzibar and Pemba, and other British Protectorates in Africa, and, in reply, I am to state that the subject is receiving attentive consideration.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,
H. PERCY ANDERSON.

THE SECRETARY,
BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
55, New Broad Street, E.C.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR.

A valued correspondent, and near relative of the late Sir ROWLAND HILL, thus writes to the Secretary of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY:—

August 24th, 1895.

I had just written a letter to ——, who feels entirely with you on the Slavery question, in which I had said that there seemed to me just now two points on which the honour of Britain was vitally concerned, *i.e.*, the Christian subjects of Turkey whose security we had solemnly guaranteed by Treaty, and the Slavery in Zanzibar, Pemba, or any other place where it exists under our flag, and by the very fact of its existence does everything to drag that glorious flag in the dust—when the *Times* came in with your most excellent letter.* If there was one sentence one used to hear over and over again, and whose truth one has seen proved over and over again, it is "demand always creates supply." I was so thankful that your letter appeared just after Mr. STANLEY's dangerous speech. A man who, however needful he may have thought the means, has largely employed Slaves as porters in his expeditions, can hardly look at the matter from an absolutely impartial point of view, and also he was brought up in a country where Slavery existed, and race hatred is still largely existent. The very fact that Slavery and railroads were co-existent in the United States, is a proof also that however important in destroying the Slave-trade (if they do not first encourage it by employing Slave labour) they are not certain to destroy Slavery. It is the intense hatred of tyranny, cruelty, and injustice, and the love of freedom, kindness, and justice that must end it. (* See page 117.)

Debate on Slavery in Zanzibar and Pemba.

THE recent Parliamentary questions and debate on this subject which we print below are of more than usual interest, and show plainly that the action taken by the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY last year in enlisting the sympathies of several of the great religious bodies in England has not been without effect. Foremost amongst these bodies must be placed the Society of Friends, whose great interest in the cause of abolition reaches back into the past century. Meetings throughout England were held by Friends, which aroused a large public enthusiasm in the Anti-Slavery cause, and led to much expression of opinion as to the anomalous position now held by Great Britain in the Protectorate she has assumed over Zanzibar and Pemba, where, as Mr. WALLER graphically expresses it, she holds two islands full of Slaves, for possession of which she gave up to Germany one island full of free men !

Those influential religious bodies, the Baptists and the Wesleyans, have largely aided the work of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, as has been more than once announced in the columns of the *Reporter*. Their aid did not, it is true, take the form of pecuniary assistance, but by memorials and resolutions passed at meetings of their body the Government was enabled to realise that the holding of Slaves in British Protectorates is an offence to the conscience of the religious public of this great Empire. The spirited action of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY in sending out a Special Commissioner to investigate the condition of the Slaves in England's latest Protectorate has taken away the excuse of ignorance on that point so long urged by those in office. Even the permanent officials of the Foreign Office can no longer tell us that the evils of Slavery in Pemba have been exaggerated, as also the number of those held in bondage. Mr. MACKENZIE'S Report gives a picture of Slavery under British rule which has already roused a spirit of indignation in the new House of Commons, for our legislators are beginning to find that for the sake of keeping up the revenue of the so-called Sultanate of Zanzibar, some 87,000 Slaves are kept in bondage in a small island on which a white man very rarely sets his foot. These wretched creatures, toiling under a burning sun and in a malarial climate, are kept to their hard labour by the unrestrained cruelty of the hippopotamus lash, for the profit of some 5,000 Arabs, whose estates are mortgaged up to the hilt to British-Indian subjects. This is not a picture likely to raise us in the estimation of the civilised world, and it ought to be at once erased from the national escutcheon.

In presenting those portions of the late debate which deal with the question of the abolition of the status of Slavery in Zanzibar, we regret to find that so many honourable members wandered from the subject, and devoted their energies to the consideration of the railway from Mombasa to Lake Victoria, and to other side issues. It appears to be thought by many of the

speakers that to stop SLAVERY you must first extirpate the SLAVE-TRADE, but this is a delusion. The law of demand and supply holds good in human wares just as much as in ardent spirits, arms, or any other form of merchandise. So long as Arabs are supplied by British subjects with money to buy Slaves to cultivate their plantations, so long will the heart of Africa be raided to produce the required trade article, and so long will homes be made desolate, and men, women and children degraded and driven off as victims to greed and lust. The making of the railway from Mombasa has always had our hearty support, and probably the first public body to urge it upon the successive Governments, ever since the General Act of the Brussels Conference was signed, was the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, which was always alive to the enormous advantages of the iron horse, as compared with the necks and shoulders of naked Slaves. But we will not be led off on the false scent started by Mr. H. M. STANLEY, and followed by others, who look to the railway to put down Slavery in Zanzibar and Pemba. The railway will do immense good, and open up large centres of future commerce in Central Africa, but it will not help the over-worked plantation Slaves of Pemba (as was admitted by the Right Hon. A. J. BALFOUR), nor will it improve the status of the poor degraded women who are employed—for the benefit of their owners—in coaling Her Majesty's cruisers, and other steamers in the harbour of Zanzibar. Mr. STANLEY's attack on gentlemen of the House, whom he called fanatics, driven on by a Society to whose demands they were ready to-day to give attention, was as uncalled for as it was vulgar ; nor is there the slightest ground for saying that "*a section of that House sent GORDON with a white wand to Central Africa to suppress Slavery.*" That noble-hearted man was sent by the KHEDIVE to the Soudan to suppress the Slave-trade ; and instead of a white wand he had large armies under his command, and was invested with the title of Governor General. On his last fatal mission he went to Khartoum expressly to expedite the evacuation of that city by the Egyptian troops and their wives and families, and thousands of these he saved. One of his first acts, on arriving at Khartoum, was to proclaim to the natives that he had not come to take away their Slaves ; therefore the statement of the Member for Lambeth is as rash as his prediction that if Slavery were abolished in Zanzibar and Pemba, where "there were European merchants, doctors, and ladies, we should probably hear of the occurrence of events similar to the Chinese atrocities." We are in no way surprised at the great explorer's attack on the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, but we are very much astonished to hear so experienced a traveller deliberately commit himself in the House of Commons to the preposterous platitude that "if they [the Government] stopped the Slave-trade in Central Africa, made railways, and thereby obtained complete control over the territory, he undertook to say that Slavery generally would terminate." No doubt it would ; but how about the "if" ? That is a pretty long one, even for Mr. STANLEY !

QUESTIONS AND DEBATE.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, *August 16th, 1895.*

SLAVERY IN PEMBA AND ZANZIBAR.

Mr. J. A. PEASE (Northumberland, Tyneside): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs—(1) whether Her Majesty's Government propose to abolish promptly and effectively all Slavery in the islands of Pemba and Zanzibar; and (2) what steps Her Majesty's Government are now taking, or are proposing to take, with a view to the abolition of the status of Slavery throughout all British African Protectorates?

Mr. THOMAS BAYLEY (Derbyshire, Chesterfield): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs—(1) if his attention has been called to Sir A. HARDINGE's report, dated Zanzibar, 13th March, 1895, where he suggests that no further steps be taken for the immediate abolition of Slavery until we have a report from Mr. DONALD MACKENZIE, who is acting on behalf of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY; (2) has his attention been called to Mr. MACKENZIE's report, dated 6th May, 1895, as referred to by Sir A. HARDINGE, where he says that the question of the abolition of Slavery in Zanzibar, Pemba, and East Africa should not be allowed to remain any longer in abeyance; and (3) what steps the Government propose taking to abolish the legal status of Slavery in East Africa and our African Protectorates?

The UNDER SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Mr. GEORGE CURZON, Lancashire, Southport): My attention has been called to the reports in question, and Her Majesty's Government are aware of the discussion upon Slavery in Zanzibar and Pemba which took place in the late Parliament. The subject is receiving their closest attention, and they are in communication with Mr. HARDINGE as to the measures which it may be found possible to adopt. It is not proposed, and it would be obviously impracticable, to take steps for the total abolition of Slavery throughout the vast regions of East, West, and Central Africa, which have been placed under British protection. Energetic steps are, however, being taken in those districts to extinguish Slave raiding and to check the abuses to which Slavery may give rise.

Mr. J. A. PEASE: May I ask whether the Government are prepared to go on with the Uganda and Mombasa Railway, and if so, will it be constructed as far as Kikuyu or the Lake?

Mr. CURZON: I do not think that that question really arises out of the answer; but I do not mind informing the hon. gentleman, if he was not present in the House last night, that it was then stated that an estimate was about to be laid on the Table for £20,000 for preliminary expenses connected with the construction of the railway.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, *August 21st.*

SUPPLY.

THE FOREIGN OFFICE VOTE.

The House then went into Committee of Supply, Mr. LOWTHER in the chair.

On the vote of £40,050 to complete the sum necessary to defray the charge for the salaries and expenses of the department of Her Majesty's Secretary for Foreign Affairs,

Sir C. DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean) said It would be remembered that in the last Parliament he on several occasions raised the question of our protectorates in Africa, and promises were made but not fulfilled. Finally a

Supplementary Estimate was brought in. The Supplementary Estimates were discussed at a time when the House was very full, being taken at the end of February or the beginning of March, and the matters contained in them were closely scrutinized. The result was that one of his hon. friends who brought forward the matter in February last was able to make a great impression. On that occasion the Government promised immediate action. The present Secretary for the Colonies pressed them very hard indeed, and the Government, under strong pressure, gave way and promised immediate action or, at least, immediate inquiry with the view to immediate action. Nothing had been done up to the present, and the last report laid before the House was of a most unsatisfactory character. There was a marked difference in the treatment of protectorates, but the nearest analogy to Zanzibar was to be found in the case of the Malay States. They came nearest from several points of view. In Zanzibar, as in the Malay States, the Foreign Office had absolute control, but he contended that the Foreign Office was not the right department to have control over and to manage protected States. When a protectorate means that the State becomes a portion of the British Empire, as Zanzibar practically was, then he contended the Colonial Office was the proper department to have charge. Some years ago he urged that Cyprus should not be under the Foreign but under the Colonial Office, on the ground that it was practically a portion of the British Empire. Of course the theory was that as long as there was danger of great complications it was better for the Foreign Office to have control, as it was in constant contact with foreign countries, but the distinction was very fine. There was a large number of colonies under the Colonial Office under such circumstances. The Colonial Office had immense experience in dealing, for instance, with the question of Slavery. Now, what were the facts with regard to Slavery in Zanzibar? An attempt was made—he was sorry it was made, for it was a fraudulent attempt, to use a strong word—to pretend that there was no Slavery in Zanzibar. The words "domestic Slavery" were used. The Slavery there was Slavery of the worst type, and it was carried on practically under the British flag. When they took over the Malay States they insisted that Slavery should be abolished in the Protectorate, and on that occasion they had only to mention the matter once. It was not necessary to bring the matter forward year after year and press the matter on the conscience of the House. On the first occasion on which it was brought forward the Colonial Office said, "It must be put down," and it was put down. (Hear, hear.) The question of the effect on the revenue was mentioned then as it was now. There was almost a small war, but Slavery was put down, and instead of going backwards these countries were flourishing. What was the case as to Zanzibar? They had a Blue-book—all that they had up to the present in satisfaction of the demands made on the late Government and on that House. How did it conclude? They had a despatch from Her Majesty's representative at Zanzibar—a man of great ability, but a man who on this question was a little afraid, and who needed a great deal of pressure before he would move. He tried to meet the case urged in debate, and he said, "You forced the abolition-of-Slavery principle on the Sultan when he was your ally; you made him take practical steps to put that policy in force. Now when you are responsible, and when the Sultan is practically your subject, you are afraid to do it." Here they were, a great civilized country, which had done more to put down Slavery than all the other Powers put together, not only tolerating the thing but making excuses to which they would not listen when made by the Sultan of Zanzibar. As to the revenue, he did not believe it would suffer for more than a year if the change was made, but the islands were doomed to perish if free labour was not brought into them. They

had information which showed that, under the present system, men were used up very quickly on the plantations, and there was no real supervision at all. There was one official representative of the Crown, but he never went near the plantations at all. Nothing was known to the Government, though it was known to many members, of what passed on these plantations. It was known how fearful the Slavery was, and he implored the Government not to be content with anything short of declaring that this Slavery must be put down, and seeing that that declaration was carried out. (Cheers.)

Mr. PARKER SMITH (Lanark, Partick) said that he agreed with every word uttered by the right hon. baronet, Sir C. DILKE, on the subject of Slavery in Zanzibar and Pemba, and he thought that if the same feeling on the subject of Slavery existed now as formerly, it would have long since been abolished in those islands. If Slavery were abolished on these islands they would very soon find that large supplies of free labour would come into the country, not merely from India but from the Continent. At present free labourers did not dare to go to Zanzibar, for if they did they would become Slaves before very long. He hoped the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs would recognise that the large body of public opinion which would be behind him would strengthen his hands in any action he might take for the abolition of Slavery on the islands.

Mr. H. M. STANLEY, in a maiden speech, said the Uganda railway ought to have been begun three years ago. (Hear, hear). It had been systematically delayed at the cost of something like 30,000 native porters. The right hon. baronet had said that he would like to see Slavery abolished in Zanzibar, but he opposed the construction of the railway, and thereby supported the establishment of Slavery at Zanzibar and Pemba, which would have been impossible if the construction of the Uganda railway had been wisely proceeded with. It was curious that the author of "Greater Britain" should not have seen that he was actually in conflict with himself. There was a grand objective point which the Uganda railway was to make for—namely, the Victoria Nyanza, with communications with the Albert Edward and the Albert Nyanza. All that enormous tract of country that used to be devoted to Slavery would possibly have been conquered for civilisation by this time if the right hon. baronet and his friends had only supported the construction of the railway. The right hon. baronet, he supposed, wanted them to suppress Slavery in Zanzibar precisely as they attempted to suppress it in the Soudan, when they ignominiously failed. It was to the rash enterprise of the British in attempting to suppress Slavery in the Soudan without having made adequate preparations, without having established lines of communication, that the catastrophe at Khartoum and the loss to Egypt of so much of her territory were due, and now the same rash proceedings were advised in the case of Zanzibar and Pemba. Of course, he did not compare those places with the Soudan; and he did not suppose that the same horrors and atrocities as occurred in the Soudan would result from hasty action in Zanzibar and Pemba. Nevertheless, there were European merchants, doctors, churchmen, and ladies in Zanzibar, and if we interfered in the way proposed by the right hon. baronet probably we should hear of the occurrence of events similar to the Chinese atrocities. With regard to Egypt, Uganda, and the Soudan, the right hon. baronet had been fatally wrong (hear, hear), and now he proposed that we should be fatally wrong with regard to Zanzibar. If they stopped the Slave-trade in Central Africa, if they made railways and thereby obtained complete control over the territory, he undertook to say that Slavery generally would terminate. In the meantime he would advise the House and the country to be guided by their

officers at Zanzibar, their Consuls, and other accredited representatives. When, in their opinion, the time should have come for the complete extinction of Slavery at Pemba and Zanzibar, those officers would, he felt sure, give the word, and the House would then know how to act.

Mr. CURZON, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs . . . I next pass to the question of Slavery in the islands of Pemba and Zanzibar. The right hon. baronet gave an account of the proceedings on this question in the last session of the late Parliament, and he complained that nothing had been done up to the present time. The right hon. gentleman cannot be aware of the weekly communications, both by letter and telegram, between Her Majesty's Government and Mr. HARDINGE.

Sir C. DILKE.—I complained that nothing had been done, that no action had been taken.

Mr. CURZON.—No one knows better than the right hon. gentleman how great are the rival considerations which have to be considered in these matters. There is a question which we ourselves found very difficult in our own country in the early part of the century—namely, the question of compensation to Slave-owners—and, further, there is the question of loss of revenue to the Zanzibar Government. All these are matters which require very careful and cautious handling, but the matter is not being lost sight of, and I hope at a later date to be able to give some further information on the matter. While on this subject of Slavery I may say that, although the right hon. baronet enlarged on the evils of plantation Slavery, there is another aspect of the question—namely, the Slave-raiding, which is at least of equal, if not of greater, importance, and the horrors connected with which in various parts of Africa under the Protectorate of the British Crown the Government is doing its best to grapple with.

Mr. DALZIEL (Kirkcaldy Burghs) said he could not fail to recognise the grave difference between the present attitude of the Government on the abolition of Slavery in Zanzibar and that which they assumed when they occupied the front Opposition bench and condemned the late Government for not having put an end to that Slavery. It was admitted by all parties to be illegal, and yet all the Government could do now was to repeat, what had been said from year to year, that the question required consideration and nothing could be done in haste.

Mr. PARKER SMITH (Lanark, Partick) confessed that after what occurred last Session he had hoped for a more satisfactory answer on the Slavery question, especially in view of the action taken by his right hon. friend the member for West Birmingham at that time in objecting to the withdrawal of the motion on which the then Government made almost precisely the same answer. He thought the hon. member for North Lambeth had gone rather beyond the mark in his comparison of Zanzibar and Pemba with the Soudan, and had rather traded on his reputation. He submitted that the view taken by the hon. gentleman as to the possible outbreak of atrocities was altogether exaggerated. He hoped that the whole opinion of the country in regard to Slavery might prevail, and that the Government might be encouraged to overcome with a strong hand the difficulties that had been raised. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. CURZON said with regard to the complaints that had been made as to the old official answer having been made on the question of Slavery in Pemba and Zanzibar he had no idea that objection would be raised. If the hon. member who raised it had given him time he might have provided himself with more information. So far as he knew there was no desire on the part of the Government to adopt a policy of stagnation in this matter. (Hear, hear.) They were in communication

with Mr. HARDINGE on the point, but really, when they had only been in power for three weeks, it was a little too much to expect that they should have arrived at a decision on all the topics which had been raised by hon. members. (Hear, hear.) Since the debate last Session the Government had taken the very best step they could against the Slave-trade—namely, by starting the Uganda Railway.

Mr. FLYNN (Cork, N.) pointed out that a division was taken by the Opposition when the question of Slavery was discussed in the last Parliament on the very ground that the then Government gave no definite assurance on the subject. He pressed the Government for a satisfactory assurance of their intention to do all in their power to suppress Slavery in Zanzibar, and moved the reduction of the vote by £1,000.

Sir J. FERGUSSON (Manchester, N.E.) said that when the subject was before the House in the last Parliament, he urged that the carrying out of the resolution of the Brussels Conference to improve communication with the interior of Africa, especially by the construction of a railway to Uganda, would be the most effective way of stopping the traffic in Slaves. The number of these wretched creatures who were put on board ship on the coast was nothing compared with those who were consigned to miserable servitude in the interior. He still held that the making of a railway into the interior would be the most powerful blow that could be struck at this accursed traffic. Because the late Government avowedly fell away from the policy of carrying out the resolution of the Brussels Conference, which LORD SALISBURY had recognised, he voted against them in the division in the last Parliament. The abolition of the status of Slavery in Zanzibar, or the traffic in Slaves on the coast, should not be the main object in view, but the suppression of Slavery at its source in the interior. The steps that the present Government were taking in the matter ought to secure them against the ill-timed attacks which had been made upon them.

Sir C. DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean) said the speeches of the right hon. member for West Birmingham and of the Secretary to the Treasury, when the subject was considered in the last Parliament, showed that the division did not turn on the making of the railway to Uganda, but on the question whether or not, in the opinion of the Committee, Slavery should be allowed to go on.

Mr. B. L. COHEN (Islington, E.) said he should support the Government. While desirous of ending the horrors of Slavery, he did not think it fair or reasonable to press the Government at once to redress grievances which for three years hon. members opposite bore, if not with indifference, at any rate in silence.

Mr. FLYNN (Cork, N.) urged that to express the feeling of the Committee as to the continuance of the Slave-trade, and their dissatisfaction with the attitude of the Government, a division was as necessary now as in March last.

Mr. DALZIEL (Kirkcaldy) pressed the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs to say whether the Government would stand by the pledge given by their predecessors that, with the least possible delay, they would put an end to this Slavery. The matter could not be left where it was.

Mr. H. M. STANLEY (Lambeth, N.) said he rose for a brief personal explanation. He had not the slightest recollection of having said anything to inspire an hon. friend, who had spoken, to charge him with trading on his reputation in the House. He begged his hon. friend not to make such remarks in the future. (Laughter.) When the time came to stop the Slave-trade in Zanzibar and Pemba it could be stopped summarily any day that Her Majesty's Government chose to order it to be stopped. But what he desired to stop was this hasty impulse on the part of a few fanatics to

drive the Government into rash action. He wished to give hon. members opposite two object lessons for the purpose of showing the evils that might be brought about by hasty action on the part of a Government in dealing with these matters. The rash fanaticism which prevailed among a section of that House sent poor GORDON with a white wand to Central Africa to suppress Slavery. They thought it possible for one human being to accomplish that feat, and having sent that poor man there without any help there, they absolutely seemed surprised when he called out for help from Khartoum. The result was that the Soudan was now a wreck. That was the effect of the rashness of hon. members on the opposite side of the House, who were urged on by a society to whose demands they were ready to-day to give attention. (Hear, hear.) The second object lesson was that at one time in the Congo basin in West Africa some 50,000 persons were slaughtered every year in consequence of the Slave-trade. When we went there we patiently established our communications and forts, and in that way we crept nearer to the centre of the Slave-trade, and at this moment there was not a single Slave trader in that part of Africa. In the same way in East Africa it would be necessary, in the first place, to make our communications safe, to place our steamers on the lake, and to scatter our agents up and down the country, and then, when the word to take action was given, it would be found in a very short time that not a single Slave could be carried to the coast or to Pemba or Zanzibar. In the meantime those two little islands must be looked after by Her Majesty's Government.

Mr. KNOX (Londonderry, W.) said that, unfortunately, travellers differed in their accounts with regard to Slavery, because the right hon. gentleman the member for Preston, who had travelled in East Africa, had said that the form of Slavery that existed in Pemba was of a most aggravated kind. By tolerating the Slave-trade in Zanzibar we were merely increasing the amount of compensation we should have to pay in the future, when we determined to abolish Slavery in that part of Africa altogether. He protested against British sailors being required to hunt down fugitive Slaves.

Dr. CLARK (Caithness) desired to support the hon. member for Partick (Mr. Parker Smith), and hoped to hear from the First Lord of the Treasury that the Slavery in question should be made to cease.

Mr. BALFOUR (Manchester, E.).—This reduction is, as I understand, proposed with the view of expressing condemnation of the alleged laxity of the present Government in regard to Slavery in Zanzibar and Pemba. But what are the facts? We came into office a little more than a month ago. Up to the end of last month we were engaged in work elsewhere. We are three weeks by post from Zanzibar, and, under these circumstances, we are required, not only to express our adhesion to the policy which we hold in common with our predecessors and in common with every Government that has held rule in this country—namely, that of abolishing Slavery in every part of the world to which our influence extends, a declaration which I should have hoped was unnecessary (hear, hear)—but we are also called upon to lay a detailed plan before the Committee with regard to the particular machinery and methods by which the abolition of Slavery in East Africa is to be accomplished. That is an unreasonable demand to make upon us or upon any Government situated as we are. (Hear, hear.) The question of Slavery on the East Coast of Africa is one that has long engaged the attention of Governments drawn from both sides of the House, and in the debate of last February, to which reference has so often been made this afternoon, we pressed this question on the Government of the day. We think

now, as we thought then, that one of the greatest steps towards doing away with Slavery in that part of Africa will have been made by the construction of the railway between the East Coast and Uganda. (Cheers.) In February last the Government of the day showed apparent reluctance to embark in the construction of that railway, and we knew nothing from their public declarations that would have led us to expect that they intended to do so. It was not till some months later that we were informed that they intended to carry out the policy which we had all along pressed upon them, namely, the policy of a railway between the East Coast and the interior of Africa in that region. We are pressing on that railway as fast as it can be pressed on. (Cheers.) No time has been lost, and I have every hope that the first actual steps of construction may not now be very long delayed. I quite agree that even then, when the railway has been built, the question of Slavery would not be completely solved, and that there is a large number of Slaves on the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba whose fate would not be mitigated by any action which we might take on the mainland. But we do not yield to any of our predecessors in a desire to put down the Slave-trade, and any steps that can reasonably be asked of us we shall be willing and glad to take. (Cheers.) But in the present circumstances, to ask us, as we are asked by this amendment, to take immediate action in regard to a place from which we have not yet been in office long enough to receive despatches, and to require us to fulfil an obligation which no Administration, situated as we are, could possibly be expected to fulfil, is, I think the Committee will feel, to make a wholly unreasonable demand upon us; and I trust, after the declaration I have now made, that we shall not be put to the trouble of dividing upon it. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. PARKER SMITH (Lanark, Partick) said he desired to make a personal explanation. He regretted to find that in some words which he uttered he had offended a distinguished new member of the House. All that his words had been intended to convey was that the hon. member held an exaggerated view of his position, and he wished to withdraw any expression which he had used which might be taken to convey anything beyond a judgment on his speech. In regard to the statement just made by the First Lord of the Treasury, it appeared to him to endorse completely what had been said by the late Government, and to go a long way towards satisfying his mind on the matter the Committee had been discussing. (Hear, hear.)

After some further conversation, Mr. FLYNN withdrew his amendment, and the vote was agreed to.

COMMENTS ON THE DEBATE.

The following letter was addressed to the Editor of the *Times* by the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

SLAVERY IN ZANZIBAR AND PEMBA.

To the Editor of the "TIMES."

SIR,—The debate on the Foreign Office Vote in the House of Commons last night, ranging as it did from China to Central Africa, was specially striking from the interest shown by many hon. members in the question of Slavery in Zanzibar and Pemba, and is a satisfactory proof that the late agitation amongst the great religious bodies of this country has not been without effect.

Will you permit me to occupy a small space in the columns of the *Times* to show that most of the gentlemen who took part in the discussion last evening

appeared to be impressed with the view that, in order to get rid of Slavery, you must put down the Slave-trade ; but this is contrary to the experience of the last eighty or ninety years. It is a matter of history that, when the Slave-trade was abolished by Act of Parliament in 1807, a society called the African Institution was formed with the object of procuring the abolition of the Slave-trade throughout the world. Of this institution the DUKE OF GLOUCESTER was patron and president, whilst the board included such well-known names as LORD BROUGHAM, THOMAS CLARKSON, GRANVILLE SHARP, ZACHARY MACAULAY, and my own relative, WILLIAM ALLEN, F.R.S., etc.

Notwithstanding the great array of names upon the board, the fact remains that in 1827 this institution practically closed its doors, mainly upon the ground that, so long as Slavery existed as a recognised institution, it was hopeless to attempt to put down the Slave-trade, or, in the words of its report, "it is in Slavery that the Slave-trade has its origin."

On that experience the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY was founded in 1839, with the fundamental axiom in its constitution that "so long as Slavery exists there is no reasonable prospect of the annihilation of the Slave-trade and of extinguishing the sale and barter of human beings." Whilst wishing to give the Government full credit for the sincerity of its desire to see the extinction of Slavery in the two islands over which it now holds sway, all experience tends to show that if abolition cannot be proclaimed until the Slave-trade has been extirpated in the vast countries of Central Africa, the result which we all wish to obtain will not be witnessed by the present or the succeeding generation.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

CHAS. H. ALLEN, *Secretary.*

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
55, New Broad Street, London, *August 22nd.*

Africa, No. 6 (1895).

(PRESENTED TO BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT, APRIL, 1895.)

THIS interesting Parliamentary Paper deals entirely with the question of Slavery in Zanzibar and Pemba, and as the published price is only 5d., and it may be obtained through any bookseller, we confine ourselves to merely reproducing the principal points in this document.

The correspondence opens with the letter to the EARL OF ROSEBERY from the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY in August, 1893:—

No. 1.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY TO THE EARL OF ROSEBERY.

55, NEW BROAD STREET, LONDON,

August 9th, 1893.

MY LORD,—In view of the continued shipment of Slaves from the mainland and Island of Zanzibar, the attention of the Committee of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY has been directed to the responsibility which England has incurred by undertaking the Protectorate of the Sultan's possessions in East Africa.

In various parts of the world where she has assumed the Protectorate of countries in which Slavery had long existed, England has cleared herself from the

stigma of recognising any legal status in that institution. Notably, in the case of India, the Gold Coast of Africa, and Cyprus, the British Government decreed that in no Court of Law should the institution of Slavery obtain legal recognition, a policy by the carrying out of which, without any sudden disturbance of the existing state of things, Slaves were enabled to emancipate themselves, since no Court, English or native, could compel them to return to their masters against their will. Copies of the Decrees abolishing the legal status of Slavery in the above-named territories are annexed for your Lordship's information.

On several occasions during the past ten years this Society has urged Her Majesty's Government to take steps for obtaining the abolition of the legal status of Slavery in the Sultanate of Zanzibar, even before it came under British protection. In 1888 the Society recalled the attention of the Foreign Office to a Report written by Sir JOHN KIRK, in March, 1884, in which the latter stated that he believed "the non-recognition of Slavery as a status known to the law to be essential to prosperity in Pemba." Replying to this Report of the Consul-General, the late EARL GRANVILLE instructed him to lose no fitting opportunity of bringing this matter before the SULTAN, and in November of the same year Sir JOHN KIRK wrote to the Secretary of State, as follows :

"I shall avail myself of the present occasion to urge upon the SULTAN the advantages he would gain by ignoring Slavery as a status recognised by law in Zanzibar and Pemba, as thereby free men would gladly come over in numbers in search of wages and food who are now afraid to do so, or who, if they do, are kidnapped on landing, and claimed as Slaves by some one or other on shore."

On the appointment of Sir CHARLES EUAN-SMITH as Sir JOHN KIRK's successor at Zanzibar, the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY again brought this question before the Foreign Office in March, 1889, and, in reply to its Memorial, the MARQUIS OF SALISBURY stated that the Society might feel confident that the new Minister would not fail to seize any opportunity which might offer of urging the SULTAN to adopt a policy so desirable in the interests of humanity and civilization.

Other Memorials, with reference to Slavery in Zanzibar, and the non-fulfilment of the Treaties entered into from time to time by successive SULTANS, have been forwarded by the Society to the Foreign Office, but with the details of these it is unnecessary now to trouble your lordship.

On the 1st August, 1890, a Proclamation was issued by the SULTAN, "confirming all former Decrees and Ordinances made by our predecessor against Slavery and the Slave-trade," and this action was hailed by the British public with much satisfaction.

Unfortunately, however, the relief alleged to be afforded to the Slave population by these edicts was withdrawn in a very few weeks by another Proclamation, cancelling some of the most important clauses of the original document, although, as a matter of fact, all Slaves introduced into Zanzibar after 1873 were illegally held in bondage, in contravention of the Treaty of that year abolishing the Slave-trade.

The fact that Great Britain has assumed the Protectorate over Zanzibar has placed her in a position towards the Slave population of those territories perfectly different from that existing at the time referred to, and it is therefore incumbent upon her to declare that Slavery is an institution that cannot be recognised in any country under the protection of Her Majesty.

The reports which have lately appeared in the press, and which must have come to the knowledge of Her Majesty's Government, together with the cases brought before the Consular Court, clearly prove that the Slave Trade on the East Coast of

Africa, and from Zanzibar, is flourishing as vigorously as it did before England assumed the Protectorate.

From these captures it has been made clear that the large profits derived from the Trade are sufficient to stimulate a traffic in human beings which would no longer be possible were an enactment issued giving to the Slave population in Zanzibar the rights of free men.

The Committee is assured by the very best authorities, long acquainted with Zanzibar, that the result of such a method of abolition as that now again urged upon Her Majesty's Government would be succeeded by no violent disruption of the ordinary domestic life, a view which entirely accords with the experience of the Society in various parts of the world during the past half-century.

In support of this view the Committee begs to inclose an extract from a letter which it received from an eminent Indian subject of Her Majesty in Zanzibar, who considered that even so long ago as 1889 the time was ripe for the abolition of Slavery in that country.

In asking your Lordship to carry out this policy, the Committee feels assured that Her Majesty's Government would receive the support of the public of England in continuation of that moral policy to which this country has set her seal.

On behalf of the Committee, I have, etc.,

(Signed) CHAS. H. ALLEN, *Secretary.*

No. 2.

FOREIGN OFFICE TO BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

FOREIGN OFFICE, *August 14th, 1893.*

SIR,—I am directed by the EARL OF ROSEBERY to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 9th instant, and inclosures, urging the abolition of Slavery in the British Protectorate of Zanzibar.

I am to state in reply, that your Committee may rest assured that this important question will be very carefully considered by Her Majesty's Government.

I am, etc.,

(Signed) P. CURRIE.

No. 3.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY TO MR. RODD.

FOREIGN OFFICE, *August 14th, 1893.*

SIR,—I transmit herewith copies of a letter, and its inclosures, from the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,^{*} urging the abolition of the status of Slavery in Zanzibar.

I should be glad if you would consult General MATHEWS on the subject, and furnish me with your opinion as to the measures recommended by the Society.

I am, etc.,

(Signed) ROSEBERY.

The next letters are a correspondence between the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY and Mr. RENNELL RODD, then Acting Consul-General at Zanzibar, both of which passed through the Foreign Office, and

are too long for reproduction here; but we insert an important Memorandum from Lieutenant C. S. SMITH, whose experience on the Zanzibar Coast extends over a period of some fifteen years, he having been formerly engaged on board H.M.S. *London*, and subsequently as Consul. This Memorandum should be read side by side with Mr. DONALD MACKENZIE'S Report to the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, which will be found in the earlier pages of the present number of the *Reporter*.

(No. 9.)

MEMORANDUM BY CONSUL SMITH ON SLAVERY IN EAST AFRICA.

Since June, 1873, it has been contrary both to the municipal law of Zanzibar and to its international engagements to transport Slaves by sea against their will. All Slaves, therefore, who have been brought against their will to Zanzibar or Pemba, within the last twenty years are illegally in Slavery. Since April, 1876, it has been contrary to the municipal law of Zanzibar to bring Slaves from the interior to the coast. All Slaves, therefore, now on the coast, who have been brought there against their will within the last seventeen years, are illegally in Slavery. Other Slaves illegally in Slavery are those entitled to their freedom under subsequent Decrees. These are children of Slave parents born after the 1st January, 1890; Slaves held by persons who have been freed by British authority, or by persons who have been otherwise freed since the 1st August, 1890; Slaves who, after the 1st August, 1890, have passed by inheritance in any way other than from father to son; and, lastly, Slaves who are held by the husband or wife of a British-protected person; and the only Slaves now lawfully held in Slavery are those who do not come into any of the above categories.

The Slaves now lawfully held may roughly be classed as follows:—

(a) Slaves who had been introduced into the islands before June, 1873, or brought to the coast before April, 1876.

(b) Those born of lawfully held Slave parents in Zanzibar dominions before the 1st January, 1890.

(c) Those who have come into the dominions of their own will.

Class (c) is obviously very small. It probably only comprises the followers and concubines of rich men.

Class (b) is also very small. It is a matter of observation that Slave couples are generally childless, and infant mortality is sure to be very high. Guided by these considerations, my judgment is that, of the Slaves now in the Zanzibar dominions, not more than about three per cent. belong to this class.

The Slaves belonging to class (a) are also probably very few in numbers. The shortness of human life in East Africa is a painful fact impossible to contest. The inhabitants who are the least likely to enjoy length of days are the Slaves, who often come with impaired constitutions, and are, as a rule, little cared for. Those employed as "hamals" (porters) in the town of Zanzibar, and as agricultural Slaves in Pemba, certainly have a very short term of life. Other Slaves are probably better off, but, in the absence of statistics of any kind, it is impossible to know accurately the probable length of life of a Slave in captivity. Captain LUGARD in his book quotes and adopts as "proved fairly conclusively" the statement of an authority, whom he does not name, that the length of life of Slaves in captivity rarely exceeds eleven years. Such a statement is bound to be based on a guess, and its value depends on the reliance that can be placed on the judgment of the person who made it. However, as we have to

deal with periods of seventeen and twenty years, it is not necessary to scrutinise too closely Captain LUGARD's assumption. It is, I think, quite certain that after these periods not more than four or five per cent. survive from those lawfully held at the time of the SULTAN'S Decrees of 1873 and 1876.

As a nett result of the foregoing considerations, I should estimate that of the persons now in Slavery in Zanzibar dominions not more than 5 to 10 per cent.* of the whole are lawfully held. All the other Slaves now in servitude have been introduced from time to time in contravention of law, and, as regards the islands, in contravention of Treaty also. It is hard to say that those who have been illegally introduced have not good right to their freedom. Nothing has ever been done by the SULTAN or by Her Majesty's Government to condone past breaches of law or of Treaty. Indeed, it is rather the contrary course that has been pursued. SEYYID ALI, in his Decree of August, 1890, expressly confirmed all previous Decrees, whether they had been confirmed or not. The present Sultan on his accession also bound himself in much the same sense. As regards Her Majesty's Government, in one instance at least (see Sir JOHN KIRK's despatch of the 14th March, 1885), the reigning SULTAN was warned in the clearest terms, with the subsequent approval of Lord GRANVILLE, the then Secretary of State, that Her Majesty's Government claimed the right to require the liberation of all Slaves introduced into the islands since 1873.

I have shown, I hope, that all the Slaves now held in Zanzibar dominions, with the exception of a fraction not exceeding one-tenth, are illegally held, and are therefore entitled to their freedom, unless it be considered that the lapse of a certain number of years makes good the title of a master to an illegally imported Slave. Such a theory, however, involves the sacrifice of our claim that a Slave has rights. For, looked at from the Slave's point of view, it would seem that the longer he has been wronged, the stronger his claim to be righted.

Captain LUGARD, in his book "Rise of our East African Empire," makes a suggestion which appears to be at least worthy of very serious consideration. He proposes the establishment of what he calls "permissive freedom," a measure which has often been proposed before under the name of "abolition of the status of Slavery." The proposal is that the SULTAN should issue a Decree similar to the Indian Act, No. 5, of 1843. This Act provides that no public officer shall sell any person as a Slave in execution of a Decree of a Court; that no rights arising out of property in a Slave shall be enforced by any Court; that no person may be deprived of his possessions on the grounds that he is a Slave, and that any act which would be penal if done to a free man shall be equally an offence if done to a Slave. The result of such an enactment would be that those who are now Slaves would, in the eye of the law, become free men, and that no claims based on the relationship of Slave to master could be enforced by law.

According to theory, the Slave would at once begin to enjoy his new rights as a free man, and Slavery would be at an end. Such was, I believe, what actually happened in India. Though this success is encouraging, it does not follow that the Act would be immediately efficacious under the different circumstances of the Zanzibar dominions, where obvious difficulties beset its introduction and execution. I will now consider these difficulties in turn, at the same time endeavouring to suggest means by which they may be overcome.

* The arithmetic of this is open to criticism, for it is implied that there are now the same number of Slaves in the dominion as in 1873. There are probably many fewer, but for my argument the estimate given is sufficiently near.

The objections which may be urged against the immediate issue of such a Decree are these :—

- (a) It would be of no effect except in places where British influence is made to prevail by the presence of a British official.
- (b) It would be likely to cause disturbances by irritating owners of Slaves.
- (c) Certain Slaves lawfully held would be taken from their masters.
- (d) The conditions under which labour is obtained would be suddenly changed, and it is feared by many that employers would in consequence find it difficult to obtain labourers.

With regard to the question of the enforcement of the Decree and to the disturbances which its enactment might cause, the authority of the SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR, though strong and unrestrained in his immediate neighbourhood, has always been weak and undeveloped in the remoter parts of his dominions. This is because hardly any native official can be relied on to do his duty if it is against his own interests or sympathies. Even when he cannot avoid the execution of a positive order, he can always frustrate its intention by delays, and by permitting a warning to reach the persons who will be affected by it. In such a condition of society it is evident that the proposed Decree would be ineffective, except where the SULTAN'S power is strong, or where a British official is able to exert an effective influence. This means that the Decree, if issued without measures being taken to ensure its observance, would be inoperative except within two or three miles of Zanzibar town, and perhaps within a similar distance from the mainland stations where British officials are established.

The Decree abolishing Slavery in the Benadir ports was issued seventeen years ago. It has remained absolutely without effect. The other later Decrees about Slavery and the Slave-trade have very rarely been enforced by native officials, except when obliged to do so by a British official or by the SULTAN. It will be seen then, that, unless the power of the Central Government is made to be felt in the outlying parts, there will be little chance of the proposed Decree taking effect in them.

On the mainland, where the Company are administering, cramped by the want of money, and, perhaps, with the sense of responsibility impaired by the expectation of being bought out, I fear that cheapness comes before efficiency. An immediate development of the power of the Government cannot therefore be hoped for, and, with the best will in the world, the Company's officers would find it impossible to put the proposed Decree in force except in their immediate neighbourhood. Any attempt to do so might provoke difficulties with the natives greater than they could deal with. Although, then, I am sure that abolition of the status of Slavery on the mainland would be a just measure which ought to be imposed at the earliest possible moment, I am bound to add that it would seem very doubtful wisdom to introduce it just at the moment when a change in the manner of government is under discussion. But as soon as an Administration is established which seems likely to be permanent, I think that it should lose no time in taking action on the lines proposed by Captain LUGARD.

In the islands, however, the circumstances are different. For one thing this country has greater cause for complaint. We have to claim reparation for twenty years' constant infractions of Treaty, whereas on the mainland we should be pressing for reparation on behalf of Zanzibar subjects injured by breaches of their own municipal law, committed many of them when Zanzibar was an independent State. Corresponding to the greater strength of our right to demand abolition on the islands, we find a greater power of making it effective when granted. The islands are so small

that, though there might be considerable excitement felt by the Slave-owners, they would at the same time see that any idea of resisting the naval force which we could at once assemble to support the SULTAN would be absurd. As regards the enforcement of the Decree in the remoter parts of the islands, I am of opinion that very much could be effected by the simple measure of keeping a Consular officer constantly travelling in the islands for the first year after its promulgation. This officer could visit every village in both islands in a two months' tour. He would befriend and protect any Slave who might complain to him that he was not allowed to benefit by the Decree, and would bring to the notice of the SULTAN any errors committed by the local officials. With such a simple law to be carried out, and such simple facts to determine, his task should be an easy one.

I think, then, that with such a strong right to press for the Decree, and with such good hopes of making it effective, we ought to lose no time in calling for its enactment.

The time for the enactment of the proposed Decree must, however, in a measure depend upon the policy adopted with regard to the Slaves now lawfully held by their masters. To exclude them from the benefits of the Decree would, I submit, be out of the question. Endless difficulties would be put in the way of the execution of the Decree, because every master would attempt to prove that all his Slaves were lawfully held; and, again, the survival of Slavery in any form would, I think, hinder the influx of free labour from the coast. The Slaves lawfully held do not at the most exceed 10 per cent. of the whole body of Slaves. The question to be decided will be whether or not compensation should be paid to the owners of these Slaves.

LORD GRANVILLE, writing to Sir J. KIRK on the 21st April, 1884, described the abolition of Slavery in the islands, presumably without compensation, as a measure which would be equitable and fair, because the number of Slaves then legally held bore such a small proportion to the total number held in Slavery. In the ten years which have elapsed since this argument was used it has lost none of its force, but has doubled it. On the other hand, it may be pointed out that the amount of compensation which would be required has become much smaller. I should estimate the total number* of Slaves lawfully held in the islands to be between 4,000 and 7,500. Probably the sum of £10 might be taken as an average value of a Slave for rough calculations. It would appear, then, that a sum of money which might be as much as £75,000, or as little as £40,000, would be required if it is decided that the owners of lawfully held Slaves should be compensated. If the money can be obtained, I submit that the payment of compensation would be very politic. Besides in some small measure helping the land-owners in a difficult moment, it would prove our desire to be strictly just. Even the smaller of the above sums is far beyond what Zanzibar could pay out of current revenues, and in the present condition of its finances it is doubtful whether it would be possible or wise to provide it by a loan. If the sum of money now invested in the British funds became available, the amount required for compensation might very properly be provided out of that. But if this sum of money is not liberated, the amount might perhaps be borrowed by Zanzibar under a British guarantee, or, indeed, it might be given as an act of liberality on the part of this

* I estimate the total population at 150,000. Of these, I suppose that one-half, or 75,000, are Slaves. If, as I suppose, about 5 to 10 per cent. of these are lawfully held, we have as lawful Slaves a number between 4,000 and 7,500. Of course I have nothing better than my judgment to go on, for no one has ever made detailed estimates of the population. The estimate of 200,000 for the population found in books was made about eighty years ago, by Captain SMEE, of the Indian navy.

country. We should be requitted by seeing the attainment of an object for which we have worked for half a century or more.

If it be determined to pay compensation, it will be necessary to ascertain as accurately as possible the numbers of the Slaves who are lawfully held. It will be easier to do this before the Decree is known of, and I have thought out a plan for obtaining a close approximation. I will not, however, trouble your lordship with the plan unless it is likely to be wanted. But if no compensation is to be paid, I would submit that there is no good reason for delay, and that the Decree should issue at once.

With regard to the apprehension that labour will cease to be obtainable, there are many who say that if all the Slaves are freed they will do no work, and consider this to be a sufficient reason against abolition. With regard to the commonly believed laziness of natives, I can only say that I have often used the labour of natives, and do not think them unwilling to work. Natives, both free men and Slaves, have worked under my eye as sailors, as cultivators, and as caravan porters, and certainly my experience does not lead me to think that all the Slaves will sit idle as soon as freed.* On the contrary, I think that by far the greater numbers will wish for employment, so that when the Decree comes into force the Slaves, who are now doing all kinds of work, will be still available, and the masters will be able to agree with them for the continuance of their services. There will be the same number of labourers in the country ; the difference will be that their labour will be voluntary, and the masters will have to pay wages. Some Slaves will no doubt migrate or refuse to work, but any difficulty about obtaining labour should be purely temporary, for now that permission has been given for the enlistment of coolies in India, it should be possible to organize a system by which labourers shall be brought to Zanzibar for engagement by any land-owner who requires hands and can pay them.

As soon as Slavery in the islands is known to be a thing of the past, free natives may be expected to come to the islands from Usambara, Shimba, the Umba district, and Girima, in search of food and wages, and these immigrants will probably settle for good where they find security, and what to them are luxuries. But while Slavery continues in any degree men will be deterred from such immigration by the fear of being kidnapped or sold. As Sir JOHN KIRK has pointed out, "the two systems of Slave and free labour will never blend." It will be seen, therefore, that abolition of the status of Slavery would bring the benefit of a natural immigration of free labour from the coast, an advantage which is rendered impossible if a system of "gradual extinction" is preferred. Under a system of free immigration, land-owners would be better off than they are now. Slavery does not provide them with enough labour. It rather stops the supply.

The real difficulty to land-owners would, I fear, be the payment of wages to the free labourers, for many of them are much embarrassed in circumstances. But, sooner

* I have heard of three attempts to cultivate land in Zanzibar by free labour. In each case loss has resulted, I understand, but in each case it may be traced to causes other than the laziness of freed Slaves. The first case is that of the Universities Mission ; but there the making of gain has not been the first object. The second case was an experiment made by myself. I knew nothing of farming, and made the experiment chiefly as an amusement. I could give little time to it, and the experiment only lasted a few months. The third case is the plantation of General MATHEWS. I do not know if the General knows more of farming than I did, or whether he had confidence in the integrity of his overseer. I am sure, however, that he was far too busy to give the eye of a master to his experiment. And, lastly, it should not be forgotten that with cloves at their present price losses are said to be suffered even by owners of Slaves.

or later, this difficulty seems inevitable. There is no reason to suppose that later on it will be less acute.

I should add, before closing, that if Slavery is abolished in the islands and not on the mainland, it will be necessary to guard against the development of a Slave traffic from the islands to the coast.

To sum up: I have endeavoured to show that though, owing to passing circumstances unconnected with the inherent right and wrong of the matter, it does not seem advisable to make great changes in the law in the mainland dominions at the present moment, yet that in the islands it will be not only just but beneficial to bring the institution of Slavery to an end without delay, and that this can be done without any apprehension.

(Signed) C. S. SMITH.

RIVERBANK, PUTNEY,

January 4th, 1894.

In consequence of the great agitation last Autumn throughout the country, the following instructions to the Consul-General at Zanzibar were forwarded by the Foreign Office:—

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY TO MR. HARDINGE.

(Extract.)

FOREIGN OFFICE, *November 27th, 1894.*

It seems to me to be expedient to take into immediate consideration the status of Slavery as now existing in the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, and the question whether some fresh steps cannot be taken towards its speedy extinction.

That question, as you are aware, is one which has constantly occupied the attention of Her Majesty's Government, and in the instructions which were given to you on the 5th of May last you were desired to insist on the faithful execution of the measures which have already been resolved upon for the purpose of the gradual abolition of Slavery in the Sultan's dominions, and to recommend any further measures which might seem to you feasible for facilitating and accelerating this object, without injustice to the Mohammedan owners.

The general rule of policy followed by this country has been to use all legitimate means, even at considerable sacrifice, for complete and prompt suppression of Slavery and the Slave-Trade, but in countries such as Zanzibar, where the institution of domestic Slavery has grown up with and forms part of the social life of the inhabitants, to resort only to such measures for its abolition as being gradual in their operation, may effect the change without unnecessary disturbance.

But it seems worthy of consideration whether the time has not come when the measures which were adopted for the purpose with signal success in India fifty years ago might not be applied to the Sultan's dominions.

The Act of the 7th April, 1843, was a measure which, in the words of the late Sir BARTLE FRERE, "was carried out in India without ultimate injury to the tens of millions of Mohammedan British subjects who were specially affected by it, and without leaving behind in the minds of those so affected any permanent feeling of grievance."

The basis of that Act was the principle that every individual must be regarded as equally free in the eye of the law. After its passage no cognisance was taken by the Courts of any rights alleged to arise out of the holding or possession of Slaves. The

accompanying Parliamentary Papers,^o relating to the status of Slavery in Egypt, contain useful information on this subject. It will be seen that while the introduction of such an enactment was held by Sir E. BARING to be inexpedient in Egypt for political reasons, he had no doubt as to the effect which it would have on the institution of Slavery.

The political circumstances in Zanzibar at the present moment give reason to hope that the adoption of the policy of the Indian Act in that island and Pemba would not entail the consequences which were to be apprehended in the event of its application to Egypt. On the other hand, it does not seem improbable that it might cause a dislocation of the labour market, and consequently affect the cultivation of the clove plantations, from which much of the revenue of Zanzibar is derived. It would also necessitate the creation of Courts in the Island of Pemba, where a Vice-Consulate is about to be established, to which persons affected by the Act could have recourse, and the formation of a police force in that island.

The combined result might be to cause at first a serious diminution in the revenues of the Protectorate, while adding considerably to its expenditure, and thus to give legitimate ground for an appeal to Her Majesty's Government to assist the SULTAN by a grant in aid.

I have to request you to take the points dealt with in this despatch into your early consideration, and to furnish me with a report upon them, which, with the material already at their command, will enable Her Majesty's Government to come to a decision as to the expediency of taking any step in the direction which I have indicated.

The remainder of the paper headed "Africa, No. 6," consists of two letters from Mr. A. HARDINGE, H.M.'s Agent and Consul-General in Zanzibar, to the EARL OF KIMBERLEY. The first letter, dated February 26th, 1895, covers nearly twelve pages of the report, and is a clever and exhaustive defence of Mohammedan Slavery, chiefly on the religious ground. The following extract, explaining the legal disabilities of the Slave under the religious law, speaks for itself, and as this law is not allowed to run in British India, where there are millions of Mohammedan subjects of the Queen, it certainly should not be allowed to over-ride British law in two small islands, the Arab population of which, according to a computation made by Sir LLOYD MATHEWS, is only 4,000.

In Zanzibar, as in other Moslem countries, the institution of Slavery rests upon the "Sheria," or religious law, which is here, unlike that of Turkey and Egypt, the secular and municipal law also. This law has been modified in practice (1) by local custom, and (2) by the arbitrary edicts of despotic rulers issued under foreign pressure, and which, whilst condemned by native public opinion as illegal and contrary to the faith, and evaded whenever possible, have been enforced from time to time in a greater or less degree by the physical power of the infidel.

The following are the legal disabilities which the Mohammedan religion and law (and the two are in Zanzibar, save for the exceptions mentioned above, identical) impose upon the Slave:—

(a) He cannot own, or acquire, or dispose of private property without the permission of his master.

* "Slave Trade, No. 2 (1884)"; "Africa, No. 4 (1887)."

(b) He cannot give evidence in a court of justice, nor, without his master's sanction, take an oath.

(c) He cannot, without the sanction of his master, contract a legal marriage, nor, according to most of the doctors, even with the permission of his master, have more than two wives at the same time.

(d) He cannot sue his master before a court of law, unless severely ill-treated by the latter. In case of such ill-treatment the Cadi may and ought to warn the master that if the complaint is repeated and proved genuine he will forfeit his Slave. Should the Slave sue his master a second time, and the charge of cruelty be established, the Cadi may order the Slave to be valued and sold, and the purchase-money to be paid to the master.

(e) He cannot sue any other person, whether free or Slave, without his master's consent; with it, he is free to do so.

(f) He cannot, without his master's permission, engage in trade, undertake a journey, or even make the pilgrimage to Mecca, nor in general claim any legal or civil right, except through and with his master's sanction.

(g) There is no legal limitation to his master's power of punishing him, and, theoretically, I believe that he might put him to death without himself being held guilty of murder, or of any more serious offence than cruelty.

The principle of the Mosaic law which made it penal to scourge a Slave to death, if he died under the lash, but not if he survived it one day (*Exodus xxi. 20*), on the ground that the Slave was "his master's money," and his loss a sufficient penalty in itself, would appear to have been followed to a still harsher and more logical conclusion by the Mohammedan jurists; but, in practice, I imagine that in most Moslem countries, even without European pressure, the equity of the ruler would be allowed to correct the injustice of the law, and that the severe, though not the capital, punishment of a master proved to have recklessly killed his Slave would commend itself to the popular sense of right.

A master may imprison his Slave for a short term, and may give him nineteen strokes at a time as a punishment for an offence without being held guilty, by the usage of Zanzibar, of cruelty. To beat him without cause, or to inflict a really cruel beating with cause, would justify the Cadi, if complained to by the Slave, and if the cruelty had been repeated twice, in ordering his master to sell him. The Ibadhis, I believe, allow the punishments which a master may inflict without committing cruelty to be somewhat more severe than is the case among the Sunnis.

(h) Save the general prohibition described above of ill-treatment or cruelty, there is no legal limitation to the amount or nature of the work which a master may impose on his Slave, whether the latter be a man, woman, or a child.

Mr. HARDINGE next gives an elaborate description of the manner in which these disabilities are sometimes mitigated by custom, or by the arbitrary power of the SULTAN. A great deal of this relates to women Slaves in the position of concubines, which is probably one of the most difficult forms of Slavery to deal with.

The question for the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY to maintain is not whether the Mohammedan religion does or does not encourage Slavery, but whether the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, which are now entirely administered by the British Government, are to continue to be Slave islands.

The remainder of this long Report is mainly occupied by calculations as to the estimated loss in revenue if Slavery were abolished, but these calculations appear to be based upon the supposed fact that if the Slaves were set free they would never do another stroke of work. Taking this for granted, Mr. HARDINGE recommends the immediate introduction of coolie labour from India to take the place of Slave labour, if abolition is carried out. He says that these coolies might be

"Employed by the Government, public works, state lands, etc., and once their introduction was seen to be assured, Europeans and Indians might recover confidence and begin to buy up native estates. If they filled the labour market with sufficient rapidity to spread over and take root in the island, and to step without any abrupt break, entailing temporary loss of revenue (if only for six months or a year), into the place of the present Slave population, the legal status might then safely be abolished, even before it had died a natural death."

This being the concluding sentence of Mr. HARDINGE's long Report, may fairly be taken as a summary of the whole. It would seem to come to this: the 266,000 Slaves in the islands, according to the estimate of the late SEYVID BURGHASH, or 140,000 according to Sir LLOYD MATHEWS, are to be entirely replaced by Indian coolies. Are these coolies to be actually Slaves, working without wages, or are they to be paid? If paid wages, the masters might as well pay the freed Slaves, and in any case, what is to become of the Slaves when set free, if the whole of the labour market is absorbed by Indian coolies?

Another vital question is, what regulations can be made and carried out to prevent these coolies from virtually becoming Slaves themselves? The experience of coolie labour, even in British Colonies, is not such as to discourage the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY from opposing this form of servile labour.

On the other hand, the great increase in the export of cotton from the United States, under free labour, induces us to place little reliance upon the elaborate calculations made, intended to show that if Slavery were abolished in Zanzibar and Pemba the cultivation of the clove and other plantations would virtually cease.

Mr. HARDINGE's second despatch, occupying about five pages of the Report, emphasises the supposed loss to the Government that would accrue from abolition. It concludes with the following attempt to forecast the result of immediate abolition of the legal status, and we are glad to observe that he recommends the Government to await the Report of the Anti-Slavery Society's Special Commissioner before taking any further steps in that direction.

Mr. MACKENZIE's Report is now before the Government, and we venture to think that the objections put forward by Mr. HARDINGE and Sir LLOYD MATHEWS ought to disappear before the dispassionate and business-like statements of the Society's Commissioner.

We also think that Sir LLOYD MATHEWS' demand for an increased naval force to prevent any possible disturbance in the islands is very much neutralised by the opinion expressed by Mr. HARDINGE and Consul SMITH that a small force of "blue jackets and marines" would be amply sufficient to maintain order. Mr. HARDINGE continues:—

It may of course be asked why, with all these difficulties in prospect, previous British Representatives at Zanzibar, whilst exerting themselves to abolish Slavery, did not labour, at the same time, to provide against the dangers which their policy must sooner or later bring about. I can only suppose that they looked at the whole question, so long as Zanzibar was an independent foreign State, from a mainly outside English standpoint. Their business was to extirpate a system which, besides being contrary in itself to English conceptions of right, was the chief feeder of the gigantic curse of the Slave-trade; they left it to the SULTANS to settle in their own way the problem to which the measures recommended or imposed by them would give rise. Now, however, that the establishment of the Protectorate has made these islands, in a sense, a portion of Her Majesty's Empire, and that their revenue and general welfare is a matter of direct concern to the British Government, the question has assumed a different aspect. We have, I would respectfully suggest, not only to destroy, but to construct; not merely to sweep away old and barbarous institutions, but to make sure that we are building up on these ruins a better and more solid social fabric.

There are only two more points in connection with this question respecting which I would trouble your Lordship. The first is the visit, reported in my telegram of the 11th instant, of Mr. DONALD MACKENZIE to Zanzibar. That gentleman, as I had the honour to mention, is studying the whole Slavery question for the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY and Society of Friends, and I have promised to afford him every possible assistance in doing so. I have had some general conversation with him already, and hope to see more of him when he returns from Pemba; but I have been pleased to find that he is fully alive to the importance both of the labour question and of the relation of the whole Slavery problem to the social and religious life of our Mahomedan population here. I believe it would be well that the report and suggestions which he will make to the Philanthropic Societies on whose behalf he is visiting these countries should be carefully considered before any further steps are taken with a view to immediate abolition.

Secondly, I would respectfully ask, at the request of Sir LLOYD MATHEWS, if immediate abolition is, notwithstanding our representations, decided on, that a sufficient naval force should be at hand here to prevent any possible disturbance. I do not, nor does Sir LLOYD, anticipate any popular rising, but there will probably be a certain amount of irritation and ferment among the natives, which a slight display of force would allay at once, but which, if unrestrained, might perhaps occasion some disorders. It must be remembered that the Zanzibar troops cannot, under such circumstances, be entirely relied on. Almost every common soldier owns a Slave or two, and would be aggrieved by the proposed emancipation; at the time of SEYYID ALI's famous Decree of 1890, nearly half of them deserted, and offered to place their rifles at the disposal of the mutinous Arabs. But the landing of a small force of blue-jackets and marines, 300 or 400 at most, would, I believe, effectually silence any outburst of popular discontent.

I have made no allusion in this despatch to certain heavy initial expenses inseparable from the introduction of coolie labour, such, for instance (to take only two

items), as the provision of inspectors, and of the "barracks" which the coolies will require. The apportionment of these expenses between Her Majesty's Government and that of Zanzibar would, of course, form the subject of later and separate discussion ; but although Zanzibar must sooner or later employ coolies, and, therefore, one day or another have to face these initial expenses, it would not be unfair for her to ask, if that day is hastened, and these expenses incurred by her at a moment when her resources are all required for the new functions assigned to her on the mainland, for some assistance under this head at the hands of the protecting Power.

The New Parliament.

SINCE our last issue, which contained the important Debate in the House of Commons on Slavery in Zanzibar, in which the late Government had promised that Slavery would be abolished as soon as possible, a General Election has taken place, and, with a view to obtaining increased support in the House, the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY issued a post card to every candidate with the following pledge :—

"SLAVERY IN BRITISH PROTECTORATES.

"I promise to vote for the abolition of Slavery in Zanzibar, Pemba, and all other British Protectorates, should I be elected to Parliament.

"———Candidate's Signature.

"*July, 1895.*"

To the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY's application, some 200 candidates, of all parties, affixed their signature, and the following list gives the names of those who have been returned to Parliament :—

ALLAN, W. ; ARCH, JOSEPH ; ASCROFT, R. ; AUSTIN, Sir J. ; BAILEY, J. ; BAYLEY, T. ; BHOWNAGREE, M. N. ; BIGHAM, J. C. ; BIRRELL, AUGUSTINE ; CHAMBERLAYNE, T. ; CHANNING, F. A. ; COLVILLE, PROVOST ; CRUDDAS, W. D. ; DALBIAC, Major ; DILKE, Rt. Hon. Sir C. W. ; DOUGHTY, Alderman ; FARQUHARSON, Dr. ; FIELD, W. ; FOSTER, H. S. ; FRY, LEWIS ; HATCH, E. F. G. ; HAYNE, Rt. Hon. C. SEALE ; HOLBORN, J. G. ; HORNIMAN, F. J. ; HOWARD, JOSEPH ; KNOX, E. F. V. ; LAFONE, A. ; LESE, Sir J. F. ; LLEWELLYN, E. H. ; LOGAN, J. W. ; LOWLES, J. ; LOYD, A. K. ; MACLURE, J. W. ; MCKILLOP, J. ; MCLAREN, C. B. ; MILBANK, P. C. ; MILNER, Sir F. ; MILTON, Viscount ; NEWDEGATE, F. C. ; OLDRYD, M. ; OSWALD, J. F. ; PEASE, ARTHUR ; PEASE, H. FELL ; PEASE, J. A. ; PEASE, Sir J. W. ; RECKITT, H. J. ; RICKETT, J. C. ; ROYDS, Colonel C. ; RUTHERFORD, J. ; SAMUEL, H. S. ; SAMUEL, J. ; SAVORY, Sir J. ; SHARP, W. T. ; SIMEON, Sir B. ; SKEWES-COX, T. ; SOUTTAR, A. R. ; SPICER, ALBERT ; TRITTON, C. E. ; URE, A. ; VALENTIA, Viscount ; WANKLYN, J. L. ; WHITELEY, H. ; WILLIAMS, J. CARVELL ; WILSON, F. W. ; WILSON, H. J. ; WILSON, J. ; WILSON, J. H. ; WILSON, J. W. ; YOXALL, J. H.

Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, Bart., K.C.M.G.

IN view of the early departure of Sir T. FOWELL BUXTON for South Australia, to which Colony he has been appointed Governor, the Committee of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY have forwarded to him the following congratulatory and valedictory Address.

“TO SIR THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON, BART., K.C.M.G., GOVERNOR AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE COLONY OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

“SIR FOWELL BUXTON,—The Committee of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY have great pleasure in offering their warm congratulations upon your appointment to so important an office under the Crown as the Governorship of the Colony of South Australia.

“They remember with feelings of gratitude the noble work in which your illustrious grandfather was engaged in connection with the great cause of Abolition in British Possessions, and they do not forget that he was one of the first members of the Committee of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, a body of which you have also been for many years a distinguished member.

“The Committee have always found you ready to assist them in their work, both in your public and private capacity, and you have ever been ready to extend with an ungrudging hand that material aid, without which the Society could not efficiently carry on its crusade against all forms of Slavery.

“The establishment of the HOME FOR FREED WOMEN SLAVES, at Cairo, has received from yourself, and from various members of your family, constant and generous support, and it is pleasing to know from Lord CROMER’S latest report that the Home is still carrying on its useful and beneficial work, though on a somewhat smaller scale than when it was founded eleven years ago, under the auspices of this Society.

“The Committee heartily wish you Godspeed in your new career, and trust that in that distant portion of the Empire which is entrusted to your government you will experience for yourself and your family those blessings of health and happiness which your many friends in the mother country earnestly desire for you.

“On behalf of the Committee,

“We are, yours sincerely,

“ARTHUR PEASE, *President.*

“JOSEPH ALLEN, *Treasurer.*

“CHAS. H. ALLEN, *Secretary.*

“55, NEW BROAD STREET, LONDON, E.C.,

August 2nd, 1895.”

Slatin Pasha.

It may be remembered that in 1893 the Treasurer and the Secretary of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY had a very interesting interview with Father OHRWALDER, who had lately escaped from a ten years' captivity under the MAHDI and his successor, the present KHALIFA, in the Soudan. Father OHRWALDER was appointed Corresponding Member of the Society, and has occasionally forwarded interesting matter upon Slavery under the KHALIFA'S rule. This interview took place in Cairo.

During the present summer another illustrious prisoner has succeeded, through the clever and elaborate arrangements made by Major WINGATE, C.B., Head of the Egyptian Intelligence Department, in escaping from the clutches of the terrible potentate who holds the Soudan in his grasp. This escaped prisoner was the former Governor of Darfour, SLATIN PASHA, who, after being a ruler in that portion of Egypt, has for the past eleven years been a closely watched, and often heavily chained, prisoner, under the constant eye of the KHALIFA.

Through the courtesy of Major WINGATE, the Secretary of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY had the pleasure of an interview with SLATIN PASHA, and heard from his own lips some particulars of the enormous extent to which Slave-raiding is carried on throughout the provinces formerly under the control of Egypt.

He states that the KHALIFA has a large number of *seribas* or armed stations, whence his men start on their Slave raids, and to which the captives are conveyed for distribution at head-quarters. He stated that the men are drafted into the KHALIFA'S army, where no doubt they become Slave-raiders themselves, as it is well known that the Slave will readily turn Slave-hunter if he has the chance. The captured women and children are sold to the KHALIFA'S faithful followers ; for though the rule of this despot is thoroughly hated, his hold of the provinces is too strong to be upset by the people themselves.

SLATIN PASHA said that the KHALIFA does not permit any export of Slaves, although this law is frequently evaded.

The KHALIFA himself is said to have 500 wives, including Gallas, who are comparatively light-coloured, and fetch a high price when sold by the Abyssinians for export to Arabia and Turkey.

SLATIN PASHA, who is an Austrian, has so far recovered from the hardships of his captivity that it is difficult to find any trace of his former sufferings. His book will shortly be published under the able direction of Major WINGATE, and will no doubt contain matter of the deepest interest, and it certainly will clear up any doubt that existed as to whether General GORDON was still living in Slavery, under the iron rule of the KHALIFA.

SLATIN PASHA informed the Secretary that he had himself seen General GORDON'S head, which his tormentors tauntingly exhibited to him, possibly

with a view to make him think that he would shortly be executed himself, as no doubt he would have been had he been caught when fleeing from captivity.

Both Major WINGATE and SLATIN PASHA have been elected Corresponding Members of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Thirty Years of Emancipation.—The African Abroad.

INTERVIEW WITH BISHOP ABE GRANT.

WHILE the cartographers at the Geographical Congress last week were lightly allotting to the white races of the earth this and that portion of the black man's patrimony on its surface, a burly negro Bishop, ABRAHAM GRANT by name, from the Southern States of America, was with equal placidity contemplating the possible future of his own race domiciled within call of the higher reaches of civilisation. The African in America has now had thirty years of emancipation. Little more than thirty years is accounted—in rather a sweeping way, perhaps—a "generation." What has the liberated Slave to say and to hope for himself and his race after these thirty years? That was the question which startled ABRAHAM GRANT, Presiding Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the States of Florida, Georgia, and Alabama, and over which he was wrestling when a *Chronicle* interviewer besought his confidence. The Bishop's value as a Slave at sixteen was 6,000 dols. in open market; his opinions at fifty ought to have weight, for other reasons, because he represents the very best aspirations of his race. He has only been in England a day or two, but in the meanwhile he has slumbered at an English Wesleyan Conference, shaken hands with the Grand Old Man of Hawarden, and preached in Wesley's Chapel, City Road, the sermon of the week.

"Well," said the Bishop, "we are a people with a history, and you know that's bad. But we are a people with big hopes, too, and some of the hopes are fairly backed up by our progress since ABE LINCOLN's proclamation. I'd like, of course, to look on the bright side of things altogether, but there's no doubt we waste a great deal in drink and idleness, and other vices which we only copied from our former masters. On the other hand, we will show you at the International and Cotton States Exposition, which opens on September 1st, at Atlanta, Georgia, that we haven't been thirty years free men for nothing."

"That is to be an industrial exhibition, I presume?"

"Yes; and we hope to show that if we don't possess the earth, we can use it to mighty good purpose."

"How then?"

"Oh, how! It has been charged against us that we are a lazy race. Just look at the facts. Why, were it possible to take the negroes out of the South the country could scarcely exist. Its agriculture is almost entirely in their hands; all its corn, sugar, and cotton industries are peculiarly theirs by a sort of natural right; and as we are to a large extent the consumers of imports, so we are to that extent the taxpayers. Even where the white races are engaged in manufacture, they are indebted to us for the raw material."

"But that is very general. Where are the particulars?"

"The facts? Well, in 1880, the South had 161 cotton mills, working 667,854 spindles. Ten years later the number had risen to 265 mills, with 1,766,363 spindles. Last year the number was 405 mills, with 2,774,087 spindles, on 62,427 looms. That increase could not have been possible were it not for the industrious habits of the negroes. But another, and perhaps better, indication of the progress of my race is shown by the domestic habits of the people. Last census gave 12,690,152 homes and farms in the United States, and of that number 1,186,174 are occupied by pure blacks, and 224,592 by mulattoes. Of the negroes, 207,616 own their own homes or farms, and 978,558 rent them. In the South the percentage of home-owners is larger than in the North, and—this is the point—we are settled on the land."

"Just so. And, of course, with increased wealth and domestic comfort, your people have proportionately increased in dignity and importance?"

"To be sure. Religiously, as you know, we are the most devout people under heaven, and the more religious we are the more progress we make. I have even heard it said that we are too religious, but, thank God! that is the reason we are free to-day and the very source of our progress. See what we have done in thirty years. We have about 20,000 teachers in the United States who are all under the Free School system. Those teachers are all examined by the State and municipal authorities before they can be engaged on precisely the same footing as white teachers. Then we have our academies, seminaries, and high schools, we have 200 newspapers edited by coloured men, and we have over 200 legal minds or lawyers. In addition we have several medical associations, State teachers' associations, one national teachers' association, a military school, established by the United States Government at Wilberforce University (and taught by a coloured man); while, of course, as we grow in intelligence we value our political and citizen rights more and more highly, dividing our votes between the parties according to our conscience. In fact, our men hold responsible positions in both parties, although the great majority hang together with the Republicans. Now, all that has been accomplished within the last thirty years, since the Civil War."

"It is a great achievement."

"Yes, and I ask you this. Could any race have done more within the time and under the circumstances?"

Modestly deprecating the question, the interviewer suggested that a further good test of the virility of the African race in America would be its evidence of municipal and commercial enterprise. The Bishop again warmed to the point. "You will never understand," he said, "the sacrifice of time and money that our people have put into their own institutions—particularly their religious, educational, and municipal institutions—since the emancipation. We are not as economical as we might be in some respects—economical, that is to say, in the way we value and husband the fruits of our labour. But whatever extravagances we indulge in have only been copied from our white neighbours. As yet we have not studied the art of applied economics which in Wall Street and elsewhere creates wealth out of nothing. True, we have merchants of high standing in every State, men with large businesses, but mostly retail—merchants, as you would call them, of the upper class. Our technical schools cover nearly all the field of skilled labour, but especially labour in association with agriculture, or in direct production. What more would you have?"

The case for the African in America as made out by the Bishop was, of course, too bright to be questioned. One might with less temerity question the right of the Norman in Britain. But Bishop GRANT was good enough to add a modest account of

his own life and work in the three great Southern States as Slave, as student, and as bishop. He was born in captivity in Florida some fifty years ago, and was freed by the proclamation of ABRAHAM LINCOLN. Having learned to read and write from "the boy of a man who had me hired," he went to school at Lake City, Florida, thence to a missionary college, and entered the ministry in 1872. In 1888 he was elected at the general convention of Indianapolis to the episcopal supervision of the States of Texas, Louisiana, Oregon, Washington, and California. For the last three years he has been Presiding Bishop, with the charge of Georgia and Alabama, to which was added last year the State of Florida. Under his jurisdiction are 11,000 pastors, 15,000 congregations, and three seats of learning. The African Methodist Episcopal Church numbers about 500,000 communicant members, the actual number of Methodists in America exceeding 13,000,000.—*Daily Chronicle*, August 8th.

Polynesian Labour Traffic.

THE July number of the *New Hebrides* (South Seas) "Quarterly Jottings" contains the report of trials at Brisbane for alleged kidnapping, taken from the Queensland papers, which show how utterly useless are the so-called "Regulations" sanctioned by the British Government, in order to protect the infamous traffic in Polynesians for the supply of forced labour to a handful of sugar planters in that Colony.

It is noteworthy that whilst the prisoners were acquitted by the Queensland jury, the captain, agent, and crew were dismissed from the recruiting service by order of the Government.

PRELIMINARY STATEMENT OF FACTS.

The leading facts of the case are as follows:—

(1) Three Kanaka labourers, AMBOO-OBA, TRV, and KOBY, were the means of bringing the criminal proceedings to light. They were returning to their native island of Malayta by the *William Manson* as time-expired labourers; and as professed Christians, with the intention of landing to become Missionaries to their heathen fellow-countrymen.

(2) The *William Manson* recruiting vessel—Captain JOSEPH VOS (also licensee of a grog shop in Sydney); OLVER, Government agent; CURRY, recruiter; HALL, mate; and two seamen—sailed from Queensland in 1894 (May), carrying return Kanaka labourers, and on a recruiting voyage to the New Hebrides and Solomon groups.

(3) Arriving at Malayta, Vos (the captain) is alleged to have induced QUISOOLIA, a native chief, by false representation as to the mission of the three Christian boys, to refuse to allow them to land, thus leaving them no alternative but to return to Queensland again as fresh recruits—for whom the captain would get credit.

(4) Whilst cruising among the islands, these three labourers saw cases of kidnapping and other serious irregularities committed on the *William Manson*, and sent letters to Queensland by passing ships, giving detailed information of these criminal proceedings. The authorities were thus bound to investigate the matter; and on the arrival of the *William Manson* in Queensland, in October, 1894, the captain, agent,

and crew were arrested and charged with the crime of kidnapping while engaged in the Pacific Island labour traffic.

TRIALS AT BRISBANE (*November and December, 1894*).

THE CHARGES.

Several charges were preferred at these proceedings, as follows (see *Melbourne Argus, Brisbane Courier*, etc., November and December, 1894, and March, 1895) :

FIRST CHARGE.

(A.) KIDNAPPING THREE NATIVE MEN.

On the 21st May, 1894, at Urassi Passage, near Malayta, three natives (ERRINGA, SOOQUOW, and ZEELOTTA) were forcibly secured and taken on board the *William Manson*. QUISOOLIA, a native chief of the district, was the instrument in the actual kidnapping by arrangement with Captain Vos. "ERRINGA was caught by the arm and wrist and dragged along the beach." SOOQUOW was "caught hold of. SOOQUOW cried, and struggled with his arms and legs, having been seized from behind round the arms and body." A witness saw COWAH "catch hold of ZEELOTTA, and ZEELOTTA, being a stronger man, cut him with a tomahawk. COWAH then sang out to two of QUISOOLIA's men to help him. The three of them put him into the boat," and the boats pulled away.

QUISOOLIA then said to OLVER (the Government agent), "You are not cross with me, because Captain Vos wanted me to do it." OLVER replied, "That's all right."

Such detailed evidence, only, of course, far more full and circumstantial, was given by *six* eye-witnesses, two of them being the actual natives who were kidnapped. This evidence, carefully obtained after solemn admonition by judge and counsel, first in the preliminary investigation, or "Police Court" trial, and afterwards in the Supreme Court at the subsequent trial, was, in spite of severe cross-examination, never for one moment shaken. But besides the six native witnesses, one of the European crew turned Queen's evidence, and the other made a confession on oath—both agreeing that the facts were as stated by the six black witnesses.

Two of the natives were subsequently induced to "touch the pen"—thus marking the contract to signify their *willingness* (?) to go to the Queensland Sugar Plantations for three years' hard labour. The third native (ZEELOTTA) was allowed after two days to go ashore. His name was not entered in the ship's log (contrary to distinct regulation).

Crown counsel thus stated the case at the Supreme Court (*Brisbane Courier*, March 16th, 1895) :—

"The evidence was overwhelming that these men were seized with violence; carried away in fear of their lives; carried away in the face of the severest resistance; carried away to the boats and brought on board the ship, and kept there until a collusive form of agreement was signed in the case of two of them—and these two brought on board closely resisting all the time. In the case of the other there was no pretence of an agreement, and after being kept on board two days he was allowed to go ashore. If he had been kept five minutes, or an hour, that would be sufficient to create the offence."

SECOND CHARGE.

(B.)—KIDNAPPING TWO NATIVE WOMEN; IMMORALITY; FALSE MARRIAGE ON BOARD.

On 21st May, 1894, near the Island of Malayta, two native women, TOWALLI and ZOUNGWARRA, were kidnapped. Here, again, the chief, QUISOOLIA, is the agent, Captain Vos being the instigator. The recruiting boats went ashore at Attegaggee. Here is the evidence of a native witness—corroborated by several other witnesses, among them the captive women themselves:—"QUISOOLIA called out to his two men to go and pull ZOUNGWARRA. The two men went; but ZOUNGWARRA had heard him call, and witness saw the top of her head as she was running away. QUISOOLIA's men called out to two women to pull ZOUNGWARRA and put her into a canoe. A canoe came round with ZOUNGWARRA, and was pulled by two men. The canoe went close up to the *William Manson*'s boat, and ZOUNGWARRA was put into the boat. She was crying. Witness then heard QUISOOLIA call out to his two men to pull TOWALLI. The two of them caught hold of the verandah of the house which TOWALLI was holding on to and it broke. QUISOOLIA's sister, FUNGHI, then caught hold of TOWALLI to keep her back. QUISOOLIA picked up a stick and hit FUNGHI on the shoulder. FUNGHI fell down, and QUISOOLIA's men ran up and pulled TOWALLI to the boat. TOWALLI cried loudly. CURRY (the recruiter) said to OLVER (the Government agent), "You see?" OLVER replied, "Yes, I see." The two women were then taken on board the *William Manson*.

By-and-by TOWALLI and another woman (QUINAMMO) were ordered to the Captain's cabin. They were told "not to be frightened." The Captain shut the door upon the women. TOWALLI then described what took place.

QUINAMMO stated that she had no husband when she joined the ship. She married ROBANI in the ship.

TOWALLI in her evidence said: "TRY was her husband. She first met him on board the ship." AMBOO-OBA, another witness, corroborated, saying, "TOWALLI and ZOUNGWARRA did not have husbands with them. TOWALLI got married sometime after she was recruited. He did not remember ZOUNGWARRA being married, but he knew she did get married."

ATTAMTOW, another native, gave further evidence. He said, "The Captain called out to him, 'You take ZOUNGWARRA and come up and sign.' It was then that he (ATTAMTOW) married her. Neither TOWALLI nor ZOUNGWARRA were married when they came on board. ZOUNGWARRA was his wife now. The Captain told him to take ZOUNGWARRA, and he took ZOUNGWARRA. Before that she was not his wife. When he married her the ship was at sea. He told ZOUNGWARRA he was making her his wife, but he did not know whether she liked that or not. He did not want to take ZOUNGWARRA back to his own island. When he went back he would go to Langa-Langa, and she would go to Eurassi."

THIRD CHARGE.

(C.) TWO OTHER WOMEN KIDNAPPED.

On the 26th of May, near Malayta, two women—LONGYAMBO and VERA—were carried on board the *William Manson*. The witnesses' statements were as follow:—"QUISOOLIA told his men to get out of the boat, and they went and pulled VERA, who cried loudly. The men caught her by the wrists and brought her to the boat. The

Government agent's boat then took VERA from CURRY's boat. The boats afterwards returned to the ship. A few days later the recruiting boats returned to the shore. Two men were holding LONGYAMBO on the shore. QUISOOLIA told his men to go and get her. They did so. She had a child in her arms, and another one was running behind her. Both LONGYAMBO and the child she was carrying cried, and QUISOOLIA's men pulled her into the boat. QUISOOLIA said to CURRY, 'You want this child to go with this woman?' CURRY asked OLVER, and OLVER said, 'Take this child back on shore!' The boats then proceeded to the ship, where the two women cried."

Captain Vos, in own evidence, admitted that these women were on board of his ship about two months. That they were ultimately landed. That no entry was made in the ship's log as to their presence, that he and the Government agent, "were worried about it"; and, he added, by way of excuse, but in words that reveal his opinion even of a careless Government agent, "I am not keeper of the Government agent's log. I have had enough of the Government agent. We have had rows enough as it is without trying to push it further."

SUBSEQUENT INCIDENTS OF THE "WILLIAM MANSON'S" VOYAGE.

To gauge the true character of this Labour ship it should be noted that other three husbandless women—making with the four kidnapped women *seven* in all—were taken on board and provided with "husbands" picked up at other islands. Some of them were not entered on the ship's books till August though they had been taken on board in May, while two women (see charge C) were put ashore after being six weeks on the ship because apparently no husbands could be found to connect them with "under the regulations."

Regulation 12 of these "new and stringent regulations framed by the Queensland Government" provides that "*a woman desiring to recruit must be accompanied by her actual husband*" (*i.e.*, single women must not be recruited). The above is a specimen of the way in which it works in practice!

UNPROVOKED ATTACKS AND ATTEMPTED MURDERS.

On her return to Brisbane the *William Manson* reported having had an "unprovoked attack" by the natives of the island of La Menu.

The Rev. T. SMAIL, the New Hebrides Missionary living nearest to La Menu, writes, however (12th December, 1894): "Lately in September the barque *William Manson* COMMITTED A MOST WANTON OUTRAGE on the La Menu people. If the story the natives tell is at all correct, and I believe it is, a most *unprovoked grievous outrage* has been committed. The boat's crew landed and started firing on the natives on the beach, and followed them up into the village firing as they went. Trees and stones, etc., bear the mark of their bullets. They then burned four houses. The occasion of it all was that a woman had been wrongfully recruited and returned. The Government agent and his party were all intoxicated at the time! . . . There was one horrible incident in it, where one of the boat's crew made three attempts to shoot a wee native boy of ten. He fired one shot at him point blank *within two yards*. The third shot failed for want of ammunition."

GOVERNMENT ADMISSION.

The full details of this outrage having been sent to the Government Immigration Agent by Dr. PATON, the following reply was sent to him:—

BRISBANE, 28th February, 1895.

“REV. SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, and beg to thank you for the same, but I was in possession of nearly all the facts when the *William Manson* arrived. But what the same people did at Malayta was so much more serious that no criminal action was taken in this case. Steps, however, are almost completed for fully compensating the natives of La Menu for the damage done by the *William Manson*, and they will very shortly receive the amount at which it has been assessed. I have, etc.,

(Signed) J. O’N. BRENNAN,
Immigration Agent.”

[£25 seems to have been the sum awarded. But the point is, the Government, by their Agent’s letter and the money payment, ADMIT THE OUTRAGE.]

THE SUPREME COURT TRIAL.

CHARGE A.

In the Police Court (or preliminary trial) all the prisoners were committed to take their trial at the Supreme Court. The first charge (that of kidnapping three men) came on for hearing (March 11th to 26th, 1895).

THE DEFENCE.

The defence was as ingenious as it was cruel.

(1) The contention was that the three return Kanakas, vexed at being thwarted in their intentions of landing at Malayta as missionaries to their fellow-countrymen, had trumped up this case and taught the other native witnesses, parrot like, to repeat the story and incriminate the crew (albeit they wrote their complaints and sent them to Queensland at the time the kidnapping occurred!) (2) But then there was the corroborative evidence of the two European seamen who formed part of the crew of the *William Manson*. Well, but that kind of evidence was “despicable.” (3) And finally, as to the evidence of the kidnapped natives—natives not understanding even “pigeon English”—such “was evidence that they could not test properly. The very difficulty they had in getting them to answer ordinary questions, the fact that the attempt to cross examine these witnesses was futile,” etc.—all “showed them to be unreliable witnesses.”

THE VERDICT OF THE COURT.

ACTION OF THE QUEENSLAND GOVERNMENT.

The verdict of the Supreme Court jury on charge (A) was “Not Guilty”!! The Government therefore did not proceed with the other charges—though the prisoners stood committed for trial on all the charges.

But, and here lies the true significance of the case, the Government ordered that captain, agent, and crew should never again be allowed to take part in the Labour Traffic. (See Mr. S. SMITH’s question in the House of Commons, June 20th, 1895.)

The new Melanesian Bishop (Bishop CECIL WILSON), after full investigation, confirms the opinion of Dr. PATON. “He gives a shocking account of the state of things in the South Pacific, caused by the taking away of the islanders to work in the sugar plantations of tropical Queensland. Many of these unfortunate islanders find premature graves in Queensland, and the comparative few who survive and return to

their homes are described by the Bishop as going back worse than ever, having learned all the white men's vices and none of their virtues fighting and becoming cannibals again, and killing their children."—"Echo," June 19th, 1895.

THE "WILLIAM MANSON" CASE IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THURSDAY, 20th June, 1895.

Mr. SAMUEL SMITH asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies:—"Whether his attention had been drawn to the trial of the master, mate, and part of the crew of the *William Manson*, for forcibly carrying off some natives from the Solomon Group in the Pacific? Whether he was aware that it was shown that seven native women, without husbands, were taken on board, and provided with husbands picked up at other islands, to elude the regulation which forbids women being recruited, except married women who volunteer to accompany their husbands? And, Whether Her Majesty's Government would adopt adequate measures to suppress such evils in connection with the revived Queensland labour traffic?"

The reply was that the captain, agent, and crew had been dismissed, and that papers on the subject would be laid before the House.

Obituary.

THE LATE MR. JOSEPH THOMSON.

WITH the death of Mr. JOSEPH THOMSON the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY has lost a Corresponding Member, and Africa an enthusiastic explorer.

THE LATE MR. JOSEPH HUNTRY.

We regret to record the death, at an advanced age, of Mr. JOSEPH HUNTRY, of Reading, formerly a liberal supporter of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Slavery and the Slave-trade in the Red Sea.

THE Special Commissioner of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, whose valuable report on Slavery in Zanzibar and Pemba appears in the present number of the *Reporter*, has also investigated the conditions of the Slave-trade in the Red Sea.

Mr. MACKENZIE, who visited several ports on the Arabian and African Coasts, has brought back much important information which will shortly be embodied in a report for presentation to the British Government, and we venture to say will prove to be of the highest interest.

The Slave-trade in Madagascar.

WE are informed by a gentleman, recently returned from Madagascar, that a regular importation of Slaves from the African mainland is carried on by Arab dhows, flying the French flag, into the islands of Nosifaly and Nosimitsio, and are thence distributed among the tribes in Madagascar.

The Fighting in East Africa.

WITH respect to the fighting now taking place in the British Protectorate in East Africa, the *Daily News*, of the 13th August, gives the following editorial remarks :—

One has an awkward feeling that further information is desirable about the successive expeditions in British East Africa. Consul-General HARDINGE started yesterday from Zanzibar on a second punitive expedition against some rather undefined enemies on the coast of the territory formerly administered by the British East Africa Company. At the same time news arrives by letter which puts a much more serious complexion upon the accounts we had previously received of his last expedition. It may possibly happen that when, months hence, we receive some official intelligence, we will discover that the affair was, like the expedition to Witu two years ago, more important and less defensible than at first appeared. It turned out that FUMO BAKARI, the Witu Sultan, and his men were fugitive Slaves who had escaped from the territory of the SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR, and had lived lawlessly, as fugitive Slaves must. Would not the liberation of the Slaves be cheaper in the end than punitive expeditions?

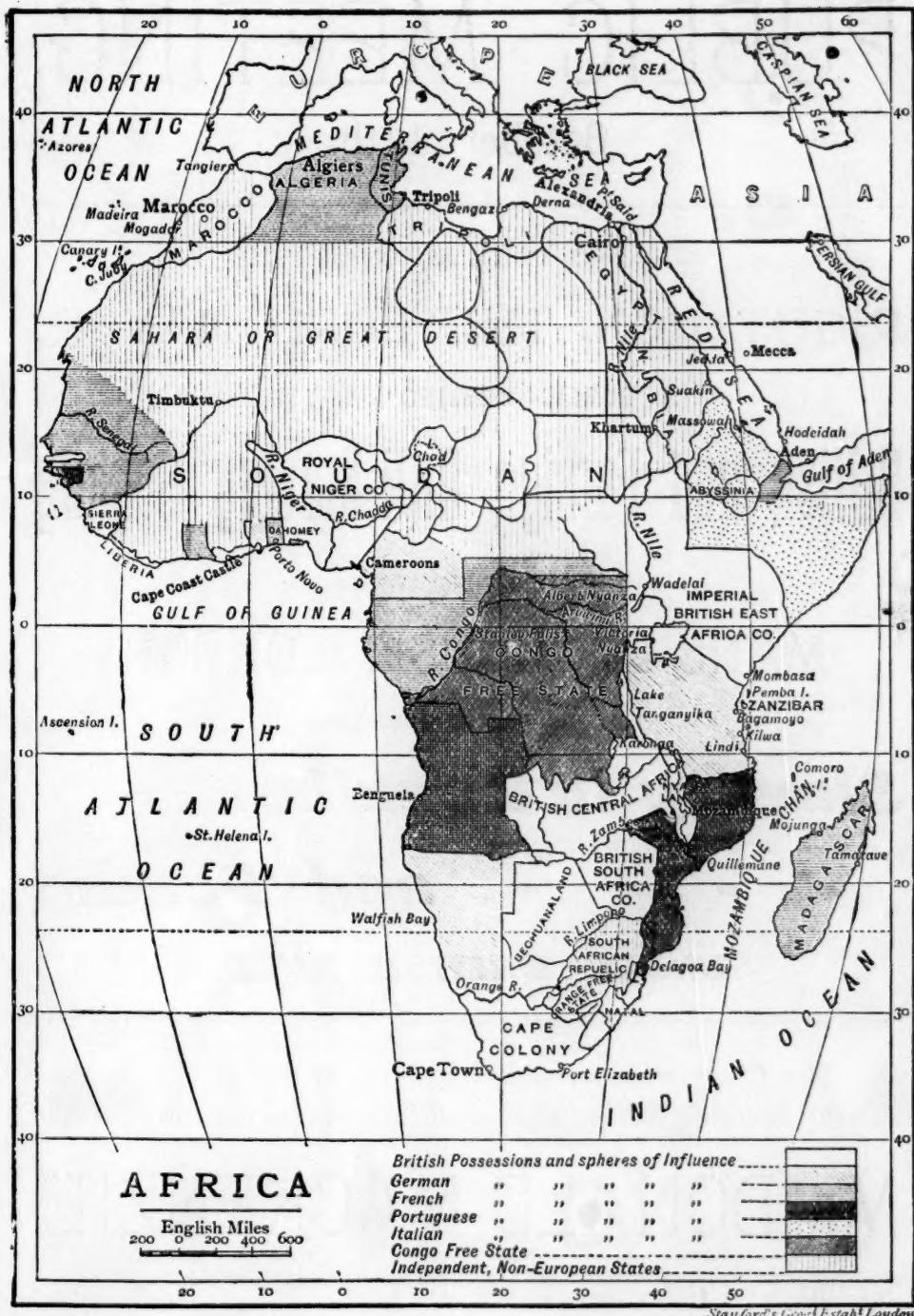
“Remember them that are in Bonds.”

FORM OF BEQUEST.

“I give and bequeath the sum of to be paid (Free
of Legacy Duty), out of such parts of my personal estate as can be lawfully
applied for that purpose, unto the Treasurer for the time being of

The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,

to be at the disposal of the Committee for the time being of the said
Society.”



MAP SHOWING THE EUROPEAN SPHERES OF INFLUENCE ON THE AFRICAN CONTINENT.

PUBLIC MEETING,

October 14th.

BY KIND PERMISSION OF THE

RIGHT HON. THE LORD MAYOR,

A PUBLIC MEETING OF THE

British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society

WILL BE HELD IN THE

MANSION HOUSE, LONDON,

TO CONSIDER THE QUESTION OF

Slavery in Zanzibar -

- - - - and Pemba

UNDER BRITISH RULE.

The Chair will probably be taken by the **LORD MAYOR**, and the Meeting will be addressed (amongst others) by

MR. DONALD MACKENZIE,

SPECIAL COMMISSIONER of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, lately returned from Zanzibar and Pemba.

Further particulars will be announced.